THE PRESENT STATE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTH AMERICA,

WITH REGARD TO

AGRICULTURE, POPULATION, TRADE, and MANUFACTURES.

THE PRESENT STATE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTH AMERICA,

WITH REGARD TO

AGRICULTURE, POPULATION, TRADE, and MANUFACTURES, impartially conſidered:

Containing a particular Account of

The dearth and ſcarcity of the neceſſaries of life in *England*; the want of ſtaple commodities in the *Colonies*; the decline of their trade; increaſe of people; and neceſſity of manufactures, as well as of a trade in them hereafter.

IN WHICH

The cauſes and conſequences of theſe growing evils, and methods of preventing them, are ſuggeſted;

The proper REGULATIONS for the COLONIES, and the taxes impoſed upon them, are conſidered, and compared with their condition and circumſtances.

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Æquè pauperibus prodeſt, locupletibus æque;
Æquè neglectum pueris, ſenibuſque nocebit.

Hor.

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PREFACE.

IF we conſider the conſequences of ſuch a general and laſting dearth of all the neceſſaries of life, as hath been felt in *England* for many years paſt, which is daily increaſing, and that in a nation which depends ſo much upon its trade and manufactures, nothing can deſerve a more ſerious regard of the public. It was computed before the laſt war, that foreigners could carry on moſt branches of trade 25 *per cent.* cheaper than we can, on account of our high taxes, and eſpecially thoſe on the *articles of daily conſumption*; and if the price of labour and manufactures is ſtill farther enhanced, not only by the additional taxes in the war, but by the advanced price of all the *neceſſaries of life*, the trade of *Great Britain*, on which its very being in a manner depends, muſt be ruined, without ſome ſeaſonable relief from ſuch a dangerous and growing evil. Since the firſt apprehenſions of a dearth and ſcarcity, and the diſturbances thereby occaſioned, the price of proviſions has roſe nigh twenty *per cent.*; as the dearneſs of them

ſeems not to be owing to any temporary accidents of the ſeaſons, but to proceed from permanent cauſes, which are more deeply rooted in the very vitals of the nation.

If this dearth continues, *England* will not only loſe great part of her trade in other parts of the world, but our colonies themſelves, who conſume the moſt of our manufactures, will rival us in them, and be obliged to eſtabliſh manufactures of their own. It has indeed been imagined, that they could not make manufactures, on account of the dearneſs of labour; but it will appear from the following diſcourſe, that their labour and manufactures are much cheaper, than they are in *England:* The advanced price therefore of ours will be a premium on theirs, and muſt ruin the trade of the nation in all other parts of the world, as hath been abundantly ſhewn by the beſt judges of that important ſubject *.

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* As to manufactures, high exciſes in time of peace are utterly deſtructive to that principal part of *England*'s wealth; for if Malt, Coals, Salt, Leather, and other things (particularly all the *neceſſaries of life)* bear a great price, the wages of ſervants, workmen, and artificers, will conſequently riſe, for the income muſt bear ſome proportion

The affairs of the nation in *North America*, of which we give ſome account in the other parts of this diſcourſe, have become a topic of ſuch general inquiry, and concern to the whole nation, after the immenſe ſums which have been expended upon them, and the critical ſituation they have been in for many years paſt, that all information concerning them ſeems to be as earneſtly deſired, as it is highly intereſting to the public. Theſe concerns of the nation in the colonies are indeed ſo numerous, and ſo little underſtood; they have been the ſubject of ſo many party feuds and contentions, which are the ſure cauſes of

proportion to the expence; and if ſuch as ſet the poor to work find wages for labour, or manufactures, advance upon them, they muſt riſe in the price of their commodity, or they cannot live: All which would ſignify little, if nothing but our own dealings among one another were thereby affected; but it has a conſequence far more pernicious in relation to our foreign trade, for it is the exportation of our own product that muſt make *England* rich.—If the price of the workmanſhip be enhanced, it will in a ſhort courſe of time put a neceſſity upon thoſe we deal with of ſetting up manufactures of their own, ſuch as they can, or of buying goods of the like kind and uſe from nations that can afford them cheaper. *Davenant's Eſſays on Trade*, Vol. iii. p. 30, 31. See Sir *Matthew Decker*; *The Cauſes of the decline of Foreign Trade*, &c.

error; that ſome account of them is highly wanted for the benefit of the nation, if it were only to ſhew the many miſtakes in the accounts we have had; to wipe off the prejudices, or correct the erroneous opinions, of many concerning them; and to give *Great Britain* a true ſenſe of her own intereſt in the colonies, which has been ſo groſsly miſrepreſented. All the regulations lately made concerning the colonies have been repreſented, as if they were intended for the benefit of the nation at home, and as if the colonies were a ſeparate intereſt; but it is paſt doubt, and will abundantly appear from the following account of them, that the late proceedings in *North America* are as contrary to the true intereſt of *Great Britain*, as if they had been calculated to overſet it; and to deprive her of the benefit of her colonies, after the vaſt ſums ſhe has expended in ſecuring her property and intereſt in that part of the world. This is indeed a ſubject of ſuch a complicated nature, and ſo little underſtood, that few people ſeem to be able to form a juſt opinion, or right judgement concerning it.

The [illegible] colonies both before the war, and after the peace; the debts they contracted

tracted by the war; the vaſt ſum they owe to *Great Britain* amounting to five or ſix millions of money; their bad circumſtances, and inability even to purchaſe their neceſſaries from *Britain*; the want of money, and even of a medium of trade; the wearing out of their lands, and failure of their ſtaple commodities; the decline, if not the ruin, of their trade; the daily and great increaſe of the people, and the eſtabliſhment of manufactures among them: Their inability to comply with acts of parliament; the late regulations, and the many diſturbances they occaſioned; the great expence the nation is at upon the new acquiſitions; the ſtate of theſe acquiſitions, and the conſequences of them in the affairs of the nation; the many improvements in ſtaple commodities, which are ſo much wanted in all our colonies; the failure and inſufficiency of thoſe which have been propoſed for them; the ſingular and peculiar ſoil and climate of *North America*, and ſtate of their Agriculture, on which the whole intereſt of the nation in the colonies depends: And above all, the neceſſity of extending their ſettlements, and enlarging their plantations, ſo as to enable them to purchaſe their neceſſaries from *Britain*, or to ſubſiſt in that ſtate of dependence on their mother country; and the

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lands which may be fit for that purpoſe: Theſe, and many other concerns, numerous as theſe are, require the attention of the public, and are neceſſary to be underſtood and conſidered, in order to determine any thing concerning the colonies; or to eſtabliſh them on ſuch a footing, as to keep up that connection and correſpondence, which ought to be preſerved between them and their mother country, and to render their dependence a mutual and reciprocal benefit to both, which is the deſign of our diſcourſe.

But inſtead of this reciprocation of benefits, *Great Britain* and her colonies are now likely to interfere with one another. They are no longer able to purchaſe their manufactures, and cannot ſubſiſt without them; their lands are worn out with ſtaple commodities for *Britain*, and will no longer bear them; the people are grown numerous, and require the produce of their lands for their own uſe; their products are not wanted in *Britain*, and for that reaſon they are obliged to vend them in foreign countries. Thus the colonies muſt interfere with their mother country both in agriculture and manufactures, unleſs ſome ſeaſonable remedy is applied, to prevent ſuch a ruinous ſtate

ſtate of the nation, which it was our chief deſign to point out.

In the proſecution of ſuch a deſign, it was neceſſary to give ſome account of the *agriculture* of *Great Britain*, as well as of *North America*, that the colonies, and their mother country, might be kept from interfering with one another in that fundamental and moſt eſſential ſupport of all nations. It is likewiſe of the utmoſt conſequence to conſider the number of people in the *Engliſh* nation, both at home and abroad, and to pay due regard to their *population*, as well as the culture of their lands. It has generally been computed, that the number of people in *England* is at leaſt ſeven, if not eight millions, and all our calculations of the ſtate and trade of the nation are founded on that ſuppoſition *; but from more particular and certain accounts, it appears, that the number of people in *England* does not amount to above five millions and an half, or ſix millions at moſt; either of which would appear to be a very inſufficient number to manage and conduct all the affairs of this nation, both at home

* See the *Britiſh* Merchant, vol. i. p. 165. Cauſes of the decline of foreign trade, p. m. 36, &c.

and abroad; to people and ſecure all the *Britiſh* dominions both in *Europe*, *Aſia*, *Africa*, and *America*, and to ſupply them all with their neceſſaries, or a fourth part of the materials.

This deficiency and want of people in *Great Britain* can only be ſupplied, as it might well be, by the great increaſe of the colonies in *North America*. *Great Britain* wants nothing more than people, which the narrow and limited bounds of her poſſeſſions at home will not maintain; it muſt, therefore, be of the utmoſt conſequence to this nation, to have ſuch a number of people depending upon her in *America*; where they increaſe and multiply very faſt, and help to ſupport the nation at home, if they are rightly employed for that purpoſe. In twenty or thirty years, which ſoon come about in a nation, theſe colonies will double their numbers; when there will be as many people in them, if not more, than are in *England*; and we ought to conſider in time, how they are to ſubſiſt by a dependence on *Great Britain*, which it was the chief deſign of our diſcourſe to ſhew. If this were done, as it might be, the great increaſe of the colonies would be a conſtant addition both to the power

power and wealth of this nation; and is the only equivalent it has, or can expect, for that great ſuperiority, in numbers, which our enemies have over us in *Europe*. This would be a *balance of power* more in favour of *Great Britain*, than that which has coſt ſuch immenſe ſums to preſerve at home. Inſtead of having our colonies to defend and protect at ſuch an expence, the number of people in them, if they were rightly employed for that purpoſe, might be the greateſt ſecurity to all the *Britiſh* dominions, in every part of the world, and worth to the nation five or ſix millions a year.

It is alſo by the number of people in *North America*, and by them alone, with their daily increaſe, that *Great Britain* can ever expect to people, cultivate or ſecure, her acquiſitions, and vacant territories in *America*, or to render them of any ſervice to the nation. There are no people in *Britain* to ſpare for that purpoſe, and it would be as great a loſs and prejudice to the nation, to ſend her people from home, in order to make new ſettlements abroad, as it would be a benefit and advantage, to employ thoſe we have in *North America* in that ſervice of their mother country. It is only by that

means, that the great numbers of people in the colonies can ever ſubſiſt by a dependence on *Great Britain*, for their neceſſary ſupplies, however they may live under her government; this is a matter of the greateſt conſequence to this nation, on which her whole intereſt in *North America* will appear to depend, as we have more fully explained in this account of that important concern of the whole nation.

But inſtead of making this uſe of our acquiſitions, which alone can ever render them of any ſervice to the nation, we have made them a loſs and prejudice to it. The colonies are excluded from all the fruitful parts of the continent, that will produce any thing for the benefit of the nation, and are confined to lands, which produce little or nothing but what *Great Britain* does; and on which they can, therefore, only interfere with her, both in agriculture and manufactures, as well as all the other eſſential employments of the nation at home. By that means we take the direct way, to force the colonies to become independent, whether they will or not; to deprive the nation of all the advantages, which might otherwiſe be reaped from them; and

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to render them a prejudice, rather than any benefit to their mother country.

All this appears to be done, for the ſake of *Canada* and *Florida*; which are by that means rendered not only a very great burden and charge to the nation, without any manner of profit, but the greateſt detriment to it on many other accounts. The colonies are thereby not only compelled to interfere with their mother country, by being excluded from all the fruitful parts of the continent, for the ſake of theſe barren deſerts; but they muſt drain the nation of people at home, which is the greateſt loſs it could well ſuſtain. Whatever any of theſe acquiſitions are, or whatever opinion any here may have of them, the people in the colonies, who know them, and for whom new ſettlements are only wanted, will never remove to any of them; but except thoſe in the colonies, and their daily increaſe, this nation has no people to ſpare, to ſettle theſe or any other parts of the world. *Great Britain* cannot people theſe acquiſitions, the colonies will not, and of what uſe then can they be to the nation? Could we even get any number of foreigners to go to theſe inhoſpitable deſerts, which we can

hardly expect after a tryal of them, it would not only be very difficult, if not impracticable, to naturalize them by themſelves in the woods of *America*, as we find by thoſe we have mixed with the *Engliſh* in the midſt of our moſt populous ſettlements, but they would ſtill be a prejudice to the nation, in theſe acquiſitions, as is here ſhewn.

Thus *Great Britain* is at the expence of nigh half a million a year, in ſupporting theſe acquiſitions, and runs the riſque of involving herſelf in new wars, and farther expences, on their account; and that for no other purpoſe, but to ruin her own intereſt in *North America*, after all it has coſt her. It was indeed expected, to throw this burden on the colonies, whether they could bear it or not; but it is here ſhewn, that it is not in the nature of things, and is contrary to the very inſtitution of colonies, which are intended to ſupply themſelves with their neceſſaries from their mother country, to expect, that they either can or ſhould raiſe money, to pay taxes, for theſe or any other purpoſes; and that money taken from them, is more ruinous to *Great Britain*, than if ſhe were to pay it herſelf. Since the colonies therefore cannot

maintain theſe acquiſitions, and that charge falls entirely upon the nation at home, the queſtion is, how is ſhe to be relieved of that heavy burden?

Theſe are the ſubjects of the preſent diſcourſe, in treating of which, and in order to form a right judgement concerning them, the firſt thing neceſſary to be known, and duely conſidered, is the ſingular and peculiar climate of *North America*; which, if it were duely known, would perhaps appear to be the moſt ſingular thing in nature. It is for want of a due knowledge of the climate, on which the intereſt of the nation in colonies depends, that ſo many miſtakes are daily committed, and ſuch erroneous opinions and prejudices are conceived, concerning that whole continent, and all the colonies in it. It was imagined, that the late tranſactions, and a more intimate concern, would give the nation at home ſome better knowledge of that continent, and of her colonies; but ſo far from that, they ſeem only to have ſerved to confirm the prejudices or miſtakes of many, and to lead the nation into the greateſt errors concerning her own intereſt, to the ruin of it; for which reaſon

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ſome account of theſe important concerns is the more neceſſary.

To form a better judgement concerning the colonies, it would be neceſſary to give an account of every one of them in particular; to conſider the nature of the ſoil and climate, and what it produces, or is fit to produce for the benefit of the nation; this we have endeavoured to ſupply by a few notes, in order to explain many things, which appear to be but little underſtood: But as theſe can give but an imperfect idea of many ſubjects treated of in them, a more particular account ſhall be given in a ſecond part of this diſcourſe, if we find, that deſign is approved of. We may then alſo conſider more particularly the ſeveral ſtaple commodities that may be made in the plantations, for the benefit of the nation, and the ways of making them; and give a more particular account of what they now make, or of the produce of the colonies, as well as of their exports and imports, of which we could here only give the ſum total, or a general view of the whole, for the ſake of brevity and diſtinction.

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By ſuch a repreſentation of the concerns and intereſt of the nation, both at home and abroad, it is to be hoped, all future jealouſies and diſſenſions, between the colonies and their mother country, may be happily prevented, to the proſperity and welfare of both. It has been given out, in many accounts, both public and private, that the nation has been involved in ſuch an expenſive war ſolely on *their* account; that they not only refuſe to bear any part of this expence, but even to pay a ſmall part of what is, pretended to be, neceſſary for their own protection and ſecurity; when their abilities are repreſented to be unqueſtionable; and that they have refuſed to ſubmit to laws, which they might as eaſily have complied with, as it was their duty to do: By theſe means, the colonies and their mother country are ſet at variance; they are made a ſeparate intereſt from *Great Britain*; the nation is divided againſt itſelf, and involved in a ſtate of civil warfare, after the grievous wars it has ſuſtained; and the colonies are rendered both unable, and leſs inclinable, to indemnify the nation for the expences that have been incurred. It is therefore neceſſary, to ſet theſe important concerns in a juſt and

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true light, and to obviate the miſtakes which have been committed, as well as the erroneous opinions which many have conceived, concerning them; that the nation may no longer take ſuch meaſures to ruin herſelf by her own proceedings, which will otherwiſe appear to be the unavoidable conſequence of them, ſooner or later.

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CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

AGRICULTURE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

THE general dearth and ſcarcity of proviſions, which have been complained of throughout the whole kingdom, more or leſs, for ſeveral years paſt, ſeem not to be owing to any temporary accidents, or unfavourable ſeaſons, which may ceaſe of themſelves; but to proceed from cauſes, which are more deeply rooted in the very vitals of the nation, and may prove of worſe conſequence, as they are daily increaſing, ſo as to threaten a perpetual dearth in the kingdom, and conſequently a failure of its trade and manufactures, if not of the Corn Trade likewiſe, unleſs the ſources of ſuch a ruinous dearth are duely attended to, and ſome ſeaſonable remedy is applied to remove the cauſes of ſo dangerous and growing an evil.

If the ſingle rainy month of July, which happened only in the ſouthern parts of the kingdom, and is not uncommon in England, may have occaſioned a ſhorter crop of corn than uſual, yet as that was ſucceeded by the moſt favourable harveſt and autumnal ſeaſon that are commonly to be ſeen, it ſeems not to be ſufficient to account for the general dearth which prevails all over the land; eſpecially as that has

been felt, more or leſs, for ſeveral years paſt, and in ſeaſons which were remarkably favourable, with the moſt plentiful crops. And however that rainy month may have occaſioned a failure in the crops of corn, in ſome particular parts of the kingdom, yet even that is not general; and if it were, it is far from being ſufficient to cauſe that dearth and ſcarcity of other proviſions, which have been complained of for many years, and ſeem daily to increaſe.

This public calamity muſt therefore be attributed to ſome other cauſes, which were perceived from an inquiry into the Agriculture of the kingdom, ſeveral years before they produced their effect; inſomuch that, from a due conſideration of theſe cauſes, and of the ſtate of agriculture in the kingdom, it was foreſeen and foretold, that a dearth and ſcarcity both of corn and other proviſions would be the unavoidable conſequence, which hath accordingly happened. Therefore, as this appeared to us ſome years ago, with other better judges, we could not but thus ſet down our obſervations and ſentiments concerning a matter, which appears to be of ſuch general concern and conſequence to the whole nation. Now as this dearth was thus foreſeen, it is likely to be as laſting, as the cauſes of it are fixed and permanent; whatever temporary expedients may be thought of to remove the preſent effects; to flatter our hopes with vain expectations, while proviſions are as dear as ever; or to ſtop the clamours of the

the people, without affording them any real and effectual relief. And that this is to be apprehended, without ſome more effectual relief than ſeems yet to have been propoſed, will abundantly appear from the cauſes of this dearth, as they are hereafter explained; which ſeem to require the united endeavours of the whole nation to prevent their pernicious and ruinous conſequences, if they may not merit the attention of the legiſlature.

The conſequences of ſuch a dearth and ſcarcity of proviſions need not to be told, where they are felt, but in this kingdom they are more to be apprehended, than in any other; as a dearneſs of proviſions, which enhances the price of every thing, threatens the ruin of the manufactures, trade, and navigation of the kingdom, and conſequently of its maritime power; on which the very being of this nation, as an independent ſtate, is well known to depend. The many ruinous conſequences of ſuch a dearth in this kingdom are ſo manifeſt in themſelves, and are ſo fully ſhewn by *Dr. Davenant*, in his Eſſays upon the Trade of the Nation, that they need not to be inſiſted upon.

But beſides theſe conſequences of ſuch a dearth, which are obvious in themſelves, it appears to us to be ſtill more prejudicial to the nation; and to threaten the very exiſtence as well as the ſubſiſtence of the people, who are already by far too few, either to cultivate the lands, or to ſupport the trade and manufactures

of the kingdom; whence the conſequences of this dearth, and of the cauſes which appear to occaſion it, may be much more ruinous, than ſeems to be apprehended.

To ſee ſuch a dearth, which threatens to be laſting, in ſuch a fruitful land as this, which yearly ſupplies its neighbours with great quantities of corn, is ſomewhat ſurpriſing; and it may therefore appear to be as curious, perhaps, as it is intereſting, to inveſtigate the cauſes of ſuch an uncommon event, and to prevent the ruinous effects of ſuch a general and public calamity.

In ſuch a plentiful country as England, where plenty appears in the face of every thing, we ſhould have no reaſon to apprehend ſuch a general dearth and ſcarcity of the neceſſaries of life, were it not owing to ſome uncommon and peculiar cauſes, which deprive the people of that plenty which the land naturally affords. And although every one may put their own conſtruction upon the cauſes of ſuch a general complaint, according as they are affected by them, yet, upon due inquiry and conſideration of the matter for ſeveral years, they appear to us, who have no other concern in them but the public welfare of the nation, to be, chiefly and principally, the four following; which are ſo manifeſt in themſelves, that they ſeem not to require a more particular diſcuſſion; however the other cauſes of this dearth, and the methods of preventing it, which are hereafter more fully

fully explained, may deſerve a more particular conſideration. And theſe cauſes of this dearth it will be neceſſary to conſider in the firſt place, and to be well appriſed of them, leſt we ſhould encreaſe the cauſe by endeavouring to prevent the effect, which would appear to be the tendency of the expedients that are commonly propoſed, as is hereafter more fully ſhewn.

I. The firſt and moſt manifeſt cauſe of this dearth appears to be, a great increaſe of the trading and manufacturing towns throughout the whole kingdom, which raiſe no corn nor other proviſions, and make a greater demand for them than the ſupply will anſwer.

The great increaſe of the trading and manufacturing towns is viſible to every one, and may be ſeen in all parts of the kingdom. This is the natural conſequence of an extenſive trade, and an increaſe of manufactures, which are the chief purſuits of the nation; but it would appear from what follows, that neither the number of people in the kingdom, nor its agriculture, limited and confined as it is to one or two particular products of the earth, are ſufficient to ſupport ſuch an extenſive trade and commerce; which takes the people from their employment in agriculture, to plow the ſeas inſtead of the land; and to make thoſe many articles of trade and manufacture, which their ſupply of proviſions will hardly enable them to carry on. Thus the nation, which is ſo bent upon trade and navigation, ſeems never to have conſidered

ſidered the neceſſity of extending its agriculture in proportion to its trade, which may otherwiſe ruin one another; the firſt may be ruined for want of hands, if they are employed in trade and manufactures; and the laſt for want of ſupplies from the land to ſupport them.

Unleſs trade and agriculture are made ſubſervient to their mutual ſupport, neither of them can ever thrive or proſper; the dearth of proviſions, and conſequently of all the articles of trade, and of every thing that the country produces, muſt ruin the trade and manufactures of the kingdom, and when theſe fail, the rents of lands muſt fall with them; which there appears to be no way to prevent, but to enlarge the agriculture in proportion to the trade of the kingdom, by ſome ſuch method as is hereafter propoſed, and for which theſe ſheets were intended. Agriculture is the chief ſupport of all nations, and the firſt thing to be conſidered in all countries; without which the trade of this kingdom muſt decline, and its navigation go to decay.

It was computed before the laſt war, that the French could carry on moſt branches of trade and manufactures 25 *per cent.* cheaper than Britain; whoſe trade muſt now be ruined, after all the late additional taxes, unleſs ſhe provides for her labourers and manufacturers at a cheaper rate, by preventing theſe cauſes of dearth. A dearth and ſcarcity of proviſions ſtrike at the very root of trade and manufactures,

tures, and render every thing that is made in the country ſo dear, that we can never expect to vye with any competitors.

While this is the caſe in Europe, and the nation is in danger of loſing its trade, by a competition here, it may have as many more rivals of its own raiſing in America, unleſs their agriculture likewiſe is eſtabliſhed on a better footing. Our very colonies themſelves, on whom we think we can rely for the vent of our manufactures, and which are the beſt markets for them, will rival us in them, and already make them cheaper than we can; which ſeems to have eſtabliſhed manufactures among them in ſuch a manner, that it will be very difficult, if not impracticable, to put them down again, as the dearneſs of ours is ſuch a premium on theirs, when they are unable to purchaſe the very cheapeſt. Either of theſe there is no way to prevent, but by extending and improving the agriculture of the nation, both at home and abroad; by rendering proviſions cheaper at home, in order to make our manufactures at a reaſonable rate, and by getting the materials for them from the colonies. But inſtead of this, we ſeem to mind nothing but trade both at home and abroad, and may thereby ruin the nation by it; the mother country endeavours to preſerve the profitable trade of the colonies, without either neceſſaries or materials to carry it on to advantage; and the colonies puſh a trade without any

thing

thing to trade upon, and thereby loſe not leſs than 400,000 *l.* if not half a million a year, as would abundantly appear, if the ſtate of their trade, which has been ſo much canvaſſed, were duly inquired into, and compared with their ſtaple commodities, or the produce of their lands †.

Thus

† The neceſſity of manufactures in the colonies, ſo long as they continue in their preſent ſituation, muſt appear to all who will conſider their condition and circumſtances, or their income, which upon the ſtricteſt inquiry, does not appear to exceed ten or twelve ſhillings a head *per annum*, take all the people in North America one with another, and muſt be very inſufficient to purchaſe a fifth part of their neceſſaries from Britain, without paying any taxes. Such taxes muſt therefore have totally ruined the intereſt of this nation in the colonies, and ſhe muſt thereby have loſt the benefit of them, after the immenſe ſums that have been expended upon them; from which we could ſee nothing but ruin both at home and abroad.—For when manufactures are once eſtabliſhed, the manufacturers will conſume the produce of the lands, by which the colonies now make remittances to Britain, and will thereby not only render their manufactures more neceſſary for their own ſupply, but it is to be feared, they will have as great an occaſion for a trade in them, as they will have nothing elſe to purchaſe the many other neceſſaries they want, &c.——And this is the more to be apprehended, as their chief ſtaple already is, or ſoon will be, nothing hardly but corn, cattle, wool, and fiſh, which are not wanted in Britain, and cannot be ſent to it; the colonies muſt therefore rely on other powers, more than upon their mother country, for the vent of theſe their products, and chief part of their ſubſiſtence, as they already do.—And although many expect to prevent this deplorable ſituation, by getting hemp, timber, and iron from the colonies, yet theſe muſt appear to be very inſufficient for that purpoſe, and are only fit to diſappoint the

Thus both the nation at home, and the colonies abroad, ſeem to puſh a trade, which they cannot carry on to any advantage, for want of thoſe neceſſary articles, on which the profits of trade depend; which muſt all come from the land, and from an encouragement of agriculture; otherwiſe the nation may be ruined by trade, as many individuals are. The great ſums which this nation is obliged to pay for the many foreign productions of the earth imported into

nation *again*, after all the diſappointments it has met with in every thing of this kind that has been attempted now for 150 years.—For timber will not bear the charge of tranſportation from America.—The making of iron is the moſt improper of all employments for *plantations*—And hemp and flax are the moſt unſuitable both to their ſoil and climate, of any thing that could well be propoſed; ſo that we can never expect that they will make much more of theſe than will be abſolutely neceſſary for their own uſe, unleſs they have many other commodities for Britain with them. And were they to make all the hemp and flax conſumed in Britain, which is not valued at above 300,000 *l.* a year, it would not be above two ſhillings a head *per annum*, for all the people in North America, and would be very inſufficient to purchaſe their neceſſaries from hence; although even that is much more than we can expect to get from them in theſe commodities.

This ſtate of the colonies is ſtill rendered worſe by our late acquiſitions, which at the beſt, if ever they yield any thing, can only produce what our other colonies do or may make; and muſt thereby interfere with them, diminiſh their returns to Britain, and render them all together more and more independent of their mother country. — Before this nation ſettles any more colonies, ſhe ſhould endeavour to get ſomething from thoſe ſhe has, otherwiſe ſhe will ſoon find that ſhe already has too many which produce nothing.

this kingdom, not only drain it of its treaſure every day, but it is to be feared, make a balance of trade againſt it, and the nation muſt hereby be rather a loſer than a gainer by its trade. Whatever may be the caſe at home, we are well aſſured, that the balance of trade is againſt the colonies, by which they loſe conſiderably; and are thereby not only deprived of remittances to Britain, but run in debt to her for this balance, which they chiefly pay to the French and other foreign colonies.

II. The next cauſe of this dearth is a decreaſe of people in the country, at leaſt in proportion to the cities and trading and manufacturing towns; which appears to be occaſioned, not only by the numbers which reſort to theſe laſt, but chiefly by a great neglect of tillage, and the turning of arable lands into graſs grounds, in order to maintain the great ſtock of all kinds, and particularly of horſes, in which this nation is ſo very expenſive; by which means the lands lie uncultivated, corn becomes ſcarce, the country is depopulated, and we have not huſbandmen ſufficient to ſupply the populous towns and crouded markets.

Although this is not ſo viſible, as the increaſe of the towns, yet it ſeems to be no leſs certain. It appears from the moſt diligent inquiry made for ſeveral years, and by the moſt able hand *, both from the number of houſes, and the

† Dr. Brakenridge, Philoſophical Tranſactions, vol. xlix. p. 268.

quantity of bread consumed, that the number of people in England, which was formerly computed to be eight millions, is now found to be not six; and as they have very much increased in the towns, they must have decreased more than two millions in the country; which alone is sufficient to occasion a dearth and scarcity of provisions, and to account for the dearness of every thing in the kingdom.

This decrease of people is owing to the monopolizing of the farms, and pulling down the houses, in order to save the repairs, by which so many people are extirpated; and as there is reason to believe, that since this practice has so much prevailed in England, not less than 300,000 houses may have thus gone to decay, that number will sufficiently account for the loss of two millions of people, as we cannot allow less than six or seven for each house. Accordingly the number of houses, which paid the tax on hearths in 1688 *, was 1,175,951; but in 1758, they being counted again for the window tax, the number of inhabited houses

* This account was published in January, 1692-3, soon after it was taken for the hearth-tax, and may be seen in the *collection of letters on trade and husbandry, by John Houghton, Esq*; F. R. S. Numb. xxvi, vol. i. p. 73.

The same account is given from *Rapin*, who had an opportunity of searching the records of the kingdom. They both contain a *list of the number of houses in England and Wales*, and in every particular county; as if it were from an actual numeration, without any uncertain calculations.

was but 961,578 ‡; this makes a decreaſe of 214,373 inhabited houſes in the whole, notwithſtanding the towns are ſo much increaſed; and allowing ſix people for each houſe, this ſhews that we have loſt 1,286,238 people in the whole kingdom, and not leſs perhaps than two millions in the country, ſince the year 1692.

As this is the moſt certain account of the number of houſes in England that we have ever had, allowing ſix for each houſe, the number of people is but 5,769,468; whereas in 1692 they muſt have been 7,055,706; which agrees very nighly with the account of *Sir William Petty*, who made them 7,369,000 in 1682. As for the account given by *Dr. Brakenridge* in 1755, from a tax ſaid to have been intended in 1710, we can ſee no certainty in it, eſpecially as it makes the number of houſes 264,641 leſs than in 1692, which he was not aware of.

Even if we ſuppoſe the number of people to be the ſame now as formerly, as many would flatter themſelves without any ſufficient reaſons, yet there muſt be a very great decreaſe in the

‡ Their number was in all 986,482, of which 282,429 were cottages, and 24,904 uninhabited, which makes but 961,578 inhabited houſes and cottages. Now if the cottages were not included in the account of 1692, as they did not pay the hearth-tax, and are not mentioned in the account, the decreaſe of houſes ſince that time is much greater than we here make it; although many ſeem to be unwilling, rather from good hopes than good reaſons, to own even this.

country,

country, and a ſcarcity of labourers to ſupply the great increaſe of the towns; eſpecially as the opulent farmers who engroſs the lands are above working, and complain ſo much of the want of hands, whom they extirpate; and thereby deprive themſelves, as well as the whole nation, of the benefit of their labour. Accordingly the want of hands in the country has been much complained of, and was at firſt attributed to the war; but ſince that the workmen and manufacturers have wanted employment more than hands; great numbers have been turned out of employ, and many have been obliged to deſert the kingdom, however they may want hands in the country.

What certainty there may be in this decreaſe of people, is not our ſubject at preſent to inquire more particularly into. We only take the facts as we find them, in order to apply them to the preſent occaſion; and to ſee, if the people thus decreaſe, as there is at leaſt good reaſon to ſuſpect, how that ruinous ſtate may be prevented in time, and before it is too late; as it is certain, that this nation wants nothing more than people, who appear to be too few for her many concerns, and extenſive trade, both at home and abroad. If we may hope for the beſt, we ought likewiſe to provide againſt the worſt, and not riſque the ruin of the nation on vain hopes and groundleſs conjectures; when there are ſuch ſufficient grounds to believe, that the people decreaſe, notwithſtanding they are ſo much

much wanted; and eſpecially to extend the agriculture of the kingdom at home, in proportion to its trade and many concerns abroad.

Now as this decreaſe of people muſt be in the country, ſince the towns are ſo much enlarged, it may eaſily be accounted for from this practice of monopolizing the farms, and pulling down the houſes. As far as we can learn, there are few or no eſtates, on which ſome houſes have not thus gone to decay, and and a great number on others, which muſt amount to a conſiderable number in the whole kingdom. There were formerly, by all accounts, many farms under 20 l. a year, on which the greateſt number of people is bred; and great numbers under 40 and 50, which laſt is now reckoned a very low rent, and ſuch as few care to have on their eſtates. Thus one half of the farms in the kingdom may have been incorporated, and ſo many people expelled from them, for ought we know; which ſeems to proceed from the great change of property in the country, from the landlords living in and reſorting to the towns, and from their tenants following them.

This concourſe of people to the towns, which has become ſo common in England, is the more to be regarded and reprehended, as it appears, that they decreaſe in them much faſter than they increaſe in the country; to which the decreaſe of people ſeems to be owing. It has been found by a gentleman of diſtinction,

tion, who is well acquainted with ſuch impor-tant concerns of the nation, and has had the curioſity to examine the regiſters of the births and burials in ſeveral parts of the country, that in the country pariſhes of England the people increaſe very faſt, generally at the rate of one third or one fourth every year, ſo that they would double their number every three or four years *, were they not to be expelled from the country, both for want of habitations and employments; and to be taken off by the large towns, in which they decreaſe very faſt, as appears from the bills of mortality. Now as the proprietors of lands, who at preſent reſort to the towns, were formerly obliged to live in the country, as appears from ſeveral proclamations in former reigns iſſued for that purpoſe; and as the common people then reſided entirely upon ſmall farms in the country, from which

* The accounts we have had of the increaſe of mankind, have been taken from obſervations made in populous cities, in which they decreaſe. To perceive their increaſe, we ſhould take it from the country. In the pariſhes here mentioned, to the number of about twenty in different parts of the country, the births yearly exceeded the burials by 7 in 20, or 35 in 100, upon an average, which is an increaſe of more than one third. But as many might be born in theſe pariſhes, who did not die in them, that may make ſome difference, as it does in all the like calculations. Allowing for this, the increaſe may be 20 in 100, or a fifth part every year. Mr. *Graunt* makes the births to the burials in the country, as 70 to 58, which is an increaſe of about 18 in 100. *Obſervations on the bills of mortality*, ch. 12. p. m. 35.

they

they are now expelled, this will abundantly account for a loſs and decreaſe of people, and appears to render it unavoidable.

Agriculture, which is the natural employment of all mankind, and perhaps the only one, breeds people both for the plough and loom, for land and ſea ſervice; and if a few engroſs that, as they have done in England, they muſt themſelves both cultivate their lands, and conſume the produce of them; or ſupply their neighbours and enemies by the depopulation of their own country——Nothing will either breed or maintain a number of people in any country, but a general and extenſive agriculture, and if we ſuffer that to be engroſſed, the very exiſtence of the people will be cut off, as well as a more moderate ſubſiſtence for the few we have.

In towns, to which the people of England ſo much reſort, they cannot maintain and provide for a family, as they do upon farms in the country, which ſupply every one with the neceſſaries of life from their own labour and induſtry. Upon land, people can only want through negligence, but in towns they ſtarve for want of employment, which they often cannot get; eſpecially where every thing is become ſo dear, that none can afford either to maintain or employ them. Hence in the populous towns in England moſt people are obliged to live a life of celibacy; which has become ſo common, that the gentleman abovementioned,

who

who was at ſuch pains to inquire into the number of people in the kingdom, thought there was no way to increaſe them, but to lay a tax upon batchelors *; who are often maintained in idleneſs, at the expence of the public, from the property they have in the ſtocks, which farther increaſe this national loſs of people. Hence we are told by our greateſt enemy, 'the ſums of 'money lent by the national creditors have en-'couraged great numbers of them to lead an 'idle life, in a ſtate of celibacy, at the expence 'of the nation †;' from which, among other things, he would prognoſticate the downfal of Great Britain; and there may be too much reaſon to apprehend the truth of his prediction, if the people are drove from the country, as they are in ſuch numbers every day, and cannot ſubſiſt in the towns, from the exceſſive dearneſs of every thing. When the people are obliged to quit the country, they have no way to ſubſiſt, but in the trading and manufacturing towns, where the dearneſs of proviſions renders their labour and manufactures ſo dear, that they have no vent for them, and they want employment, and bread, there likewiſe. Great numbers have by thoſe means been turned out of employment, and are obliged to deſert the kingdom, or to ſtarve at home; which ſeems to be

* See the treatiſe he has wrote on that ſubject, or a method of raiſing a ſupply for the war by a tax on batchelors.

† Silhouette's View of England.

the cauſe of the complaints and diſturbances among the people.

Thus Britain, by following trade, and neglecting agriculture, or ſuffering it to be engroſſed, is likely to loſe both her trade and her people. The great advantage of agriculture is in the breeding, as well as the maintaining of people; and unleſs that is attended to, we can never expect them to increaſe, or to ſee a ſufficient number in this kingdom, either to cultivate the lands, to render proviſions cheap, or to ſupport the many other concerns of the nation. Great numbers are loſt abroad, and many more in the towns to which they reſort for the benefit of trade, ſo that we can never expect to increaſe or preſerve their numbers, without a general and extenſive agriculture; and that alone will ever render proviſions cheap in this country, where every thing elſe is ſo dear.

It is computed by *Corbin Morris*, Eſq; in his very ingenious and intereſting Obſervations on the Bills of Mortality, that the annual loſs of people in London alone muſt have taken 506,000 from the country, from the revolution to the year 1750; and conſequently 636,000 to this preſent year 1766, or in 78 years; to which if we add the great increaſe of the town within theſe few years, this ſingle city has not required leſs perhaps to uphold it than 800,000 people within theſe 80 years, which is 10,000 a year, and as many in ten years, as the nation commonly loſes in a very bloody war; beſides

all the other towns in the kingdom, and the numbers that are yearly loſt abroad, in the fleets, army, wars, &c. And it would farther appear from his uſeful obſervations, that he has foretold the preſent dearth and ſcarcity, the riſe of the price of manufactures, and decreaſe of the people, from this yearly loſs of people in the country; which is the greateſt argument that can well be given for a general naturalization in this kingdom, and even ſhews the neceſſity of ſuch an expedient; unleſs the people are more confined to the country, and have a more general uſe of the lands. If it be not by one or the other of theſe means, the ſources of population in this kingdom are cut off; you have a conſtant drain of people from the country, who are all loſt in the towns, and many more abroad, while they are expelled from the land, and have no way to recruit from the uſe of it; to which laſt the increaſe of all mankind ſeems to be owing. Many indeed are apt to conclude, that the people muſt increaſe, ſince the towns are ſo much enlarged; but that is rather a ſign of a conſtant loſs of people in England; whence the great increaſe of the towns muſt ruin them and the whole nation, for want both of people and of neceſſaries, unleſs the country is improved and increaſed with them; which there is little or no hope to expect from the preſent ſtate of agriculture in the kingdom.

If we attend to the ſources of population, it will appear that mankind are propagated on the

earth like trees, according as they have room to grow, and nouriſhment to ſupport them; but in populous towns they overtop and deſtroy one another, and can never thrive, till they are thinned and tranſplanted; for which reaſon ſo many are obliged to remove to the colonies, in order to get the uſe of lands, and the neceſſaries of life from them, which they are deprived of at home. Therefore, if this nation would preſerve the few people ſhe has, and keep them from migrating to the colonies, ſhe ſhould let them enjoy the benefit of the lands in their own native ſoil. And this is the more to be regarded, as an increaſe of people in North America would be as prejudicial to the intereſt of the nation, as a loſs of them at home; ſince the colonies not only increaſe very faſt, but their plantations are already by far too ſmall to enable them to ſubſiſt by a dependance on their mother country, which an increaſe of people would render more impracticable.

Now this increaſe of the colonies is owing to a free uſe and general diſtribution of the lands, and the want of people in Britain to the engroſſing of them; *That* gives every one a ſhare of the fruits of the earth, and thereby preſerves and multiplies the race of mankind, while this both ſtarves and extirpates them; which is a matter of no ſmall conſequence to this nation, whoſe colonies are ſo numerous, and increaſe ſo faſt. But if the people of Great Britain and Ireland were to be employed in huſbandry, as

they

they are in the colonies, theſe kingdoms would be much more populous than we can ever expect the colonies to be. Were all the people in theſe healthful and fruitful iſlands to be employed in agriculture, which the lands would admit of for a much greater number, they might ſoon people all America from their own ſtock; and would have people enough left at home, to ſupply them all; were not the poor to be ſtarved by the rich, and to be deprived of the means of ſubſiſtence, from the engroſſing of the lands.

An increaſe of a fourth part, which is a million and a half every year, that this nation might get by employing its people in huſbandry, with the multiplied increaſe again of theſe, if it were only a twentieth part every year, as in the colonies, would ſoon overſtock this iſland; and the people would be obliged to migrate, like a ſwarm of bees, were they to be provided for, as they might be, from the fertility of the land. Were all the landlords in this kingdom to provide for the people on their eſtates, or only to allow them as much land as would produce the neceſſaries of life, which is but a very little, they would have no reaſon to complain of the want of hands, as they lately did, from a few being taken from the plough, to man their fleets: But if they ſuffer the lands to be engroſſed, or to lie uncultivated in graſs, for the breeding and maintaining of horſes and other beaſts, inſtead of men, it is to be feared, they will never have any to ſpare for ſuch emergencies.

It is to their agriculture, poor as it is, that the increaſe of our colonies is owing; and we need not be ſurpriſed that they double their numbers every twenty years, as many of them appear to do ‡, ſince that is but a fourth or fifth part of the natural encreaſe of mankind in England, where they follow the occupation of huſbandmen, as they all do in the colonies. If they do not encreaſe ſo faſt as they would in England, by the ſame manner of living, it is owing to a more barren land, an intemperate climate, and the unhealthful ſituation of many; which will ever keep thoſe colonies from becoming ſo populous, as to be a terror to their mother country, unleſs ſhe thus extirpates her people at home, while they encreaſe abroad. Notwithſtanding their ſuppoſed great extent, all our colonies in North America, from New-England to South Carolina incluſive, are no

‡ The moſt certain account of the increaſe of our colonies, that we have met with, is from the number of people in Virginia, which was taken by the government at the beginning of the war in the year 1703, when their number was 60,000; but by a like account, taken in the ſame manner by the government, at the commencement of the war in 1755, they had increaſed to 300,000; and by the laſt accounts received from thence in 1765, their number was then 500,000: by which they appear to have doubled their numbers every twenty years, as nigh as may be; although we cannot expect a like increaſe now, when the country is grown more populous, and every thing is ſaid to become *ſcarce* and *dear*, as it is in England; the bad effects of which are felt in the number of people, more perhaps than in any thing elſe.

larger

larger than Great Britain and Ireland, and would not maintain a fourth part of the number of people *. Thus we need not be alarmed about

* From their ſurveys they contain about 102,000 ſquare miles, and Great Britain and Ireland 105,000—Of this, the two Carolinas are as large as all the other ſix, but are for the moſt part a barren ſand, and produce little or nothing but in the unhealthful ſwamps and marſhes, which deſtroy more people than they are perhaps worth.—The middle or tobacco colonies are in a great meaſure worn out with that exhauſting weed.—And the four northern colonies have no ſtaple commodity wanted in Britain, and are entirely unfit to produce any, on account of the climate, with the long and hard winters.

Upon the whole, in comparing the lands in North America with thoſe of England, we ſhould allow not leſs than four for one, both on account of the greater poverty of the ſoil, the large tracts of barren ſands, or uncultivated rocks and mountains, with the quantity of land that muſt be kept in woods for the neceſſary uſes of plantations, in fire-wood, fencing, lumber, houſe and ſhip-building, &c. Now as theſe colonies are about as large as Great Britain and Ireland, and may contain a fourth part of the people (about two millions and a half, or three millions at moſt) the laſt is four times more populous; but as the lands are not by a fourth ſo fruitful in the colonies, the one is as populous as the other with regard to their produce; and theſe colonies can no more live merely by their agriculture, or by the making of ſtaple commodities for Britain, as all colonies ſhould and would do, if they were able, than the people could in Britain itſelf. Accordingly, the lands in Great Britain and Ireland produce much more for exportation, than all North America. The corn exported from England alone, is equal to all that the lands yield for exportation in theſe colonies; and in plentiful years, as in 1750, exceeded their produce by one third. And as the people increaſe and multiply, at the rate they do, their lands will yield ſtill leſs for exportation; eſpecially of ſuch commodities as tobacco,

indigo,

about the power of the colonies; the only danger is, from their want of remittances to Britain,

indigo, hemp and flax (which require the very beſt corn and graſs grounds, and all the manure that the earth affords, on which the people ſhould ſubſiſt) although theſe are almoſt all that they make for Britain.

If it is alledged, that a greater number of people will make more, it ſhould likewiſe be conſidered, that they will conſume more; and their conſumption is already ſo great, that they require for their own uſe, almoſt every thing that their poor lands will yield. Hence corn and proviſions are already become more valuable to make, than any thing elſe for exportation, which is a certain ſign, that they muſt extend their ſettlements, if we would have them to depend on Britain. Although they may keep up their exports for Britain at preſent, yet they diminiſh vaſtly in proportion to the number of people. Three millions do not make much more than two millions uſed to do.—All that they make for Britain does not amount to above five or ſix ſhillings a head *per annum*.—If they double their numbers in twenty years, and come to be ſix millions, they will make nothing hardly for Britain, unleſs they extend their ſettlements beyond the mountains which confine them to theſe narrow bounds.—It is not a tenth part of theſe plantations that produces any thing for Britain, and the chief part of that is worn out.—Thus they have hardly any lands at all to anſwer the purpoſes of colonies, in ſupplying the nation with ſuch commodities as it wants, and to purchaſe their neceſſaries from Britain by that means.—They may indeed have lands enough to ſupply themſelves and their manufacturers with their own neceſſaries, that is, to render them independent of their mother country, after all the ſums ſhe has expended upon them; which is the plain tendency, and muſt be the unavoidable conſequence, of all the late proceedings concerning them; which are therefore likely to be the ruin of this nation.—If Britain has expended eighty millions of money for no other purpoſe but to be involved in an additional charge of 700,000 *l. per annum*, and to

loſe

Britain, and the means of ſubſiſting by a depen-dance upon her; which muſt make them more dependant on other powers for the vent of their products, that are not wanted in Britain.

The vaſt advantages of a general and extenſive agriculture, eſpecially in population, may be learnt from the example of all nations who purſue it. It is by giving due attention to that, before all other employments, that in *China* they have many more people than are in all *Europe* (by their accounts not leſs than three or four times as many) and maintain them all in plenty and affluence without any foreign trade, which proceeds from the great encouragement they give to agriculture; the Emperor himſelf, the greateſt Potentate on earth, ſets the example with his own hands; and takes care, in perſon, to ſee the lands duely diſtributed among the people, and rightly cultivated, in corn, and not in graſs, for the ſupport of men, inſtead of beaſts, which laſt we ſeem to prefer in England.

loſe the benefit of her colonies to the bargain, which muſt be the reſult of their preſent ſituation, the conſequence may be much worſe than is apprehended.—This there is no way to avoid, but by extending their ſettlements to thoſe rich and fruitful territories on the Miſſiſſippi, and Ohio, for which the nation engaged in ſuch an expenſive war, if ſhe *yet* knows, what ſhe was about.—No other part of all the Britiſh dominions will ever enable thoſe colonies to purchaſe their neceſſaries from Britain, or to live in that ſtate of dependance on their mother country, &c.

The like effects of a proper care of agriculture may be ſeen in *Japan*, where the lands are carefully ſurveyed and diſtributed every year; and are cultivated almoſt entirely in corn, with little or no graſs at all, even for cattle, and much leſs for horſes, as the people are bound by their religion to eat no fleſh meat; by which means, although the country is deemed very barren, rocky, and mountainous, yet it is, by all accounts, the moſt populous ſpot of any upon earth, and maintains all its inhabitants, numerous as they are, without any foreign trade at all, on which we ſeem chiefly to rely in Britain †.

From

† From this inſtance in Japan we may ſee, how much they are miſtaken who imagine, that mankind could not be ſupported on the fruits of the earth, or a mere vegetable diet, without animal food, of which we conſume ſuch vaſt quantities in England, and thereby very much increaſe the expence of living, and the dearth of proviſions. An acre of land will produce much more than ten buſhels of corn, which will maintain a man for a twelvemonth; but three or four acres will hardly ſupply him both with vegetable and animal food, cloathing, horſes, &c.

How the Japaneſe ſubſiſt in ſuch numbers entirely upon vegetable food, and in ſuch a barren land, would be as curious, as it is intereſting, to relate, had we room for it here. Their *Gokof*, or neceſſaries of life, they reckon five, rice, wheat, barley, black and white Japan beans; which laſt are highly worthy of notice, as they chiefly maintain ſuch a number of people, in ſuch a poor ſoil. Theſe are both of the kidney-bean *(Phaſeolus)* kind, which all grow on the pooreſt ſoil of any thing perhaps that the earth produces, of equal ſubſtance and nouriſhment. They are more nouriſhing than any ſort of grain or pulſe, and yet

From theſe and the like inſtances, as well as from the nature of things, it abundantly appears, that Agriculture is the chief ſource of population,

yet will grow and thrive on a mere barren ſand. It is by means of theſe, and Indian corn, that the people live on their poor ſandy lands in America, where they have upwards of thirty ſorts of theſe beans, ſome of which ripen in ſix weeks from ſowing, would thrive very well in England, and be the greateſt improvement for the poor ſandy and uncultivated lands. Another ſort, known by the name of the Buſhel-bean, from its producing a buſhel of beans on one vine, is perhaps the moſt ſubſtantial food for hogs and horſes, of any thing that grows, and the cheapeſt.

But all theſe ſeem to be vaſtly inferior to the Japan and Lima beans, which are as ſoft and fat as marrow, and the moſt nouriſhing of any thing that grows. It is from theſe white beans, of this quality, that the Japaneſe have great part of their food, as well as ſauce and ſeaſoning for it. They do not ſo much as know the uſe of what we call butter, and yet are better ſupplyed with it, from their pooreſt ſandy lands, than we are from the richeſt paſtures, and moſt expenſive herds. This they make, whenever they want it, only by diſſolving theſe white beans in boiling water with rice; with this they ſeaſon their food, which muſt be much more wholeſome than our butter ſauces.

But as they want ſome more ſavory condiment for an inſipid vegetable diet, they make that likewiſe, which is the *Japan Say*, that we are ſo fond of, from theſe beans; by ſoaking them in water, with an equal quantity of wheat and ſalt, and beating them well for a month or two, till they are diſſolved; in the ſame manner as we make ketchup with muſhrooms, which cannot be ſo wholeſome.—And with their black beans, they feed their poor, hogs and horſes, both in Japan and China. *Vide Du Halde Hiſt. China, Kempfer Hiſt. Japan. Amœnitates exoticæ, &c.*

So likewiſe in America the common people and labourers, white and black, all live on theſe ſort of beans and Indian corn, which laſt they ſeaſon with the beans, and thereby render it vaſtly more ſavory and reliſhing, as well

lation, and perhaps the only one, in all countries; and this is much more the caſe in England,

as more nouriſhing, although that is the moſt nutritious of all grain. With theſe the poor and negroes are fed upon lands, on which the very poor in England would ſtarve. This their bean is of the ſame kind with the French *Haricot*, with which alone they make a much better ſoup and food, than the Engliſh do with all their profuſion of meat. The *Bouillon*, which is daily thrown away in England, with a few of theſe beans or roots, would maintain the greateſt part of the poor in the kingdom, as they do in France. By means of theſe and buckwheat, the French live on the pooreſt lands, and enjoy plenty in the midſt of poverty, when the poor in England ſtarve in the midſt of plenty.

Thus the ſcarcity in England is more owing to waſte than want; and of that we have another inſtance in manure, the greateſt part of which is waſted on gardens and hot-beds, and the earth is thereby robbed of its nouriſhment. But if you will aſk what will make plenty in any country, it is manure, as we may learn from China and Japan. They think very rightly, that every thing which is fed on the earth, ſhould contribute to manure it, and for that reaſon they take the greateſt care to ſave what we are at ſo much pains to throw away; and thereby have proviſions much cheaper in their many populous towns, than in the cheapeſt part of England. Even the ſhavings of their beards are carefully preſerved for this purpoſe, as both hair and ſoap are the richeſt manure of any; and the firſt more particularly for Rice, as it laſts, and is not waſhed away, in water. Beſide theſe they frequently water their grounds with lime water, and convey it even to the tops of the hills by means of a ſimple machine, like a chain pump, and thereby preſerve the fertility of the earth, and even enrich it, while it bears the moſt plentiful crops; as lime water has been lately found to be the greateſt promoter of vegetation, although it is looked upon by our hiſtorians to be only a fancy of the Chineſe.

By theſe means they have the greateſt plenty of rice, which is their chief food in China and Japan, as it ſaves the

expence

land, where the very neceſſaries of life, with every thing elſe, are become ſo dear, that we can expect no increaſe of people in towns, in which they, on the contrary, ſeem to decreaſe. It is therefore of the utmoſt conſequence to this nation, which wants nothing more than people, both at home and abroad, to attend to its agriculture, which ſeems to be in a very unproſperous ſtate in both; and the more immediate

expence both of grinding and baking; and of this they have a ſort, which is ſo fat and luſcious, that it is ſaid by thoſe who eat it in the Indies, to be perfectly cloying, and the moſt nouriſhing of any grain; whereas the two ſorts of rice which we have had from thence, are ſo ſlender a diet, that labouring people can hardly live upon them.

With their rice they likewiſe make all their fermented and ſpirituous liquors, which are ſo much more delicious than any others, that they have no other beer, wine, brandy, rum, arrack, punch, &c. on which we are at ſuch an immenſe expence to foreigners, when we neglect the very beſt of our own. The Japan *Sacki*, or beer, and *China wine*, both made of rice, are commended by all as the beſt and moſt delicious of fermented liquors. Theſe they make only by ſoaking the rice well in water for about a month, till it is ſo ſoft, that it will diſſolve in boiling, and ferment like malt; with which they likewiſe make the Goa arrack.

For variety and a thinner liquor they have none but beer made of Indian corn, which is likewiſe drank by the Spaniards in all their colonies; whereas we are at the expence of 300,000 *l.* a year for molaſſes, which with rum coſt this nation not leſs than half a million a year, and that chiefly for the very dregs of foreign plantations, when we could be much better ſupplied by our own products. And this is the more to be regarded, as this nation loſes near half a million a year by this pernicious trade in ſpirituous liquors, which are paid for chiefly in Britiſh goods, and thereby occaſion the vaſt debts which the colonies owe to Britain, &c.

cauſes

cauſes of this in England, which we ſhall next conſider, are therefore the more to be regarded and attended to.

III. The heavy taxes, and eſpecially thoſe upon *articles of daily conſumption*, affect the price not only of Proviſions, but of every thing elſe in the kingdom; and as this effect increaſes its own cauſe, by rendering every thing dearer from the high price of proviſions, this ſeems to be another great ſource of all the evils which are ſo much complained of, from the dearth of every thing that the country produces.

Articles of daily conſumption are what the frugal Huſbandmen themſelves cannot diſpenſe with, and as theſe are taxed, they muſt lay that tax on the neceſſaries of life, which are conſumed by every one; and theſe two raiſe the price of labor, of manufactures, and of every thing in the kingdom.

And as the lands are engroſſed by opulent Farmers, who conſume moſt of the ſuperfluities of life, they raiſe the price of Proviſions accordingly, and the poor are obliged to pay the duties on Wine, Tea, and Sugar, &c. in their Bread.

Thus we give a bounty upon the Corn that is exported to ſupply our rivals in Trade and Manufactures, and lay a tax upon what we conſume ourſelves, when its price is farther enhanced by the exportation; which muſt not only give them a ſuperiority over us, but advances the price of every thing in the kingdom, which

which is already ſo immoderate from the heavy taxes.

IV. The number of horſes is ſo much increaſed among people of all ranks, that they appear to conſume as much as would maintain the greateſt part of the people in the kingdom, and occaſion a dearth and ſcarcity both of Corn and all other Proviſions, which appears to be the great cauſe of this dearth that is ſo much complained of.

The great increaſe of horſes in *England* is viſible to every one, and is taken notice of by all on the preſent occaſion. The increaſe of coach and ſaddle horſes, and particularly of poſt horſes, ſince the turnpike roads, is alone almoſt ſufficient to occaſion the preſent dearth of Proviſions; which ſeems to have increaſed in proportion to theſe roads, and the number of horſes kept upon them; and as if this expence were not ſufficient at home, great numbers are bred for ſale abroad.

But the moſt general and extenſive evil is the great uſe that is made of horſes, inſtead of oxen, in all affairs of Huſbandry, which not only conſumes the produce, but enhances the price of Agriculture; and that in ſuch a manner, that this practice of the Farmers alone in keeping ſo many fine horſes at ſuch an expence, while they are afraid to make them work, leſt it ſhould ſpoil their ſale, for which they are bred, is ſufficient to cauſe a dearth of Proviſions. There cannot be leſs than 100,000 horſes thus employed,

employed, inſtead of oxen, which laſt would ſupply the markets with the beſt meat, after they have furniſhed the nation with Corn, and both at a moderate price. Hence Plough-horſes ſhould not only be taxed, but prohibited, as it is well known that oxen will do the buſineſs much better; and ſuch a prohibition ſeems to be the only way to reduce the number of horſes, which are bred and kept by the Farmers for ſale, and not for the plough; by which they deprive the nation both of Corn and all other Proviſions.

The number of horſes in *England* is very uncertain, but we may ſee from the tax on coaches, how much they are increaſed. At the time of the *Spaniſh* Invaſion in 1588, they could raiſe but 1700 horſes in *London*, and there were ſaid to be but 20,000 in all the kingdom; but the Coach-horſes alone are now above 100,000; and as the Poſt-horſes do not laſt above a year or two, there muſt be three or four times as many kept, to ſupply their daily loſs. Many reckon there may be a horſe for every houſe in the kingdom, or a million in all; but if there is only half a million, they will be ſufficient to occaſion all the dearth of Proviſions that is ſo much complained of. Having both ſeen and felt not only the conſumption, but the great waſte and deſtruction, which horſes occaſion, we are well ſatisfied from our own knowledge and experience, that they muſt occaſion a very great dearth and ſcarcity, and

particu-

particularly of Corn, the chief ſtaple of *England*, wherever they come to be numerous, as we may learn both from the example of *Tartary*, and of our Colonies *.

The

* From the great numbers of horſes which the *Tartars* keep, they have no *Bread* to eat, and hardly know the uſe of *Corn*. They call Corn the tops of graſs, which was made for the beaſts of the field, ſay they, and theſe for men; this manner of living they are obliged to ſubmit to from the number of horſes they keep, which deſtroy the Corn both before it is reaped, and after it is made. Thus a number of horſes occaſions not only a ſcarcity but a total want of Corn.

It is therefore the greateſt impropriety in this nation, which depends ſo much upon its Corn, and more than any part of the world, to keep ſuch a number of horſes; which muſt occaſion not only a dearth and ſcarcity, but conſume or obſtruct the growth of the only ſtaple of the land. If the beſt of the lands are kept in graſs for the breeding and feeding of horſes, as ſo many are in England, the nation may not only loſe its chief ſtaple, but the people muſt either want, or live on horſe-fleſh, as the *Tartars* are obliged to do, from the numbers they keep.

This extravagance in horſes has likewiſe crept into the colonies, where they conſume and deſtroy much more than all that their lands produce, at leaſt for exportation, notwithſtanding the much greater conveniencies they have for keeping them at ſo much leſs expence than in *Britain*. From the number of horſes they keep, Corn has become twice or thrice as dear as it uſed to be; *Indian* Corn is at three and four ſhillings currency a buſhel, where the common price uſed to be a ſhilling, and where we have known it made for ſixpence; and wheat has roſe to three and four ſhillings ſterling a buſhel, where it was never ſold for above two, and often under that price. In the iſland of *Bermudas*, they were in danger of being ſtarved by their horſes, till they were obliged to make a law to get rid of them, and to allow none to keep them under a very great

The expence of horſes to their owners is well known, and they are much more expenſive and prejudicial to the public. They not only conſume ſo much Corn, but they hinder the growing of as much more, and the raiſing of all other Proviſions, as well as the breeding of people. The very beſt of the lands are kept in graſs for horſes, and the people are thereby deprived of their chief employment in tillage; which affects not only their ſubſiſtence, but their very exiſtence, as it is only by agriculture, that people are both bred and maintained. Thus by the keeping of ſo many horſes, the nation loſes many more people, for which nothing can be a ſufficient recompenſe, eſpecially in this nation which has ſo few people, and ſo many and great occaſions for them.

Horſes conſume from two to three buſhels of Corn a week, that is from 104 to 156 buſhels a year; whereas ten buſhels of corn a year maintain the people †. Oats indeed will not

penalty, unleſs they were poſſeſſed of a greater eſtate than uſual.

In populous countries, ſuch as *China*, they ſeldom or never breed any horſes, and keep but very few; the *Chineſe* are ſupplied with them from the deſarts of *Tartary*, where they have ſuch vaſt tracts of waſte and uncultivated lands, which are only fit for the breeding of horſes, where we would have men.

† The quantity of Corn conſumed by the people is a very intereſting ſubject, which has been very carefully diſcuſſed by the ingenious author of the Tracts on the Corn Trade;

not go ſo far among men, as two buſhels of oats make but one of oatmeal, but they hinder the growing of an equal quantity of other Corn for the uſe of mankind, and are reckoned to exhauſt the land more than any other grain ſown in *England*.

Trade; who concludes from many differing accounts, that the people of *England* conſume, one with another *per annum*, eight buſhels of wheat, or nine of rye, eleven of barley, and oats, which are more uncertain, he reckons may amount to twenty three buſhels a year, which make eleven buſhels and a half of oatmeal; but oatmeal is more nouriſhing than barley meal, as is generally obſerved, and I have been ſenſible of it by living on both, and having ſeen others do the ſame.

This is a ſubject well known in *America*, where they maintain their negroes entirely on *Indian* Corn, of which they find twelve buſhels and a half at a medium will keep them for a twelvemonth without any other food; and as two buſhels of *Indian* Corn are found to be equal to three of oats, this quantity is equal to eighteen buſhels and three pecks of their oats, which are not nigh ſo good as the *Engliſh*; the white people again do not conſume much above half this quantity of *Indian* Corn, or about ſeven buſhels a year, as it is well known to be by far the moſt nouriſhing of any grain; whence we may conclude, that eighteen buſhels of oats will maintain men, women and children, one with another, for a twelvemonth. And ten buſhels of corn, take one ſort with another, is a large allowance, where they have plenty of other food, as in *England*; whereas many horſes eat 160 buſhels a year, and either conſume or obſtruct the growing of ſo much for the ſupport of the people. It is for this reaſon, that in the colonies, where the horſes are ſo numerous, Corn is become ſo very dear, although they do not eat above a third part of what they do in *England*, and they have ſo much more land to grow it.

Suppoſe, horſes conſume two buſhels of Corn a week, or thirteen quarters a year, 500,000 would conſume 6,500,000 quarters *per annum*, whereas all the people in *England* uſe but 7,500,000 quarters.

Horſes again conſume more in graſs and fodder. We cannot ſuppoſe, that they require annually leſs than four acres of land to maintain them in graſs, fodder, and corn, and that of ſuch land as would produce four quarters of Corn to an acre, ſince they would take more than three to keep them in Corn; at which rate 500,000 horſes require two millions of acres of the beſt lands, which would produce eight millions of quarters of Corn, half a million more than all the people in *England* conſume, beſides the ſtock which might be raiſed on ſuch Corn lands.—If we ſuppoſe the number of horſes to be a million, and that they take 5 or 6 acres to keep them, which is moſt probable, they obſtruct the growing of twice as much Corn, as would maintain all the people in the kingdom, the value of which is immenſe.

The vaſt expence of horſes may be ſeen from the great quantities of oats conſumed; the importation of which into the port of *London* has increaſed 52,000 quarters a year, ſince the year 1752 †. And notwithſtanding the quantities that are grown, yet in the year 1763 we were obliged to import 219,310 quarters †,

† † See the Tracts on the Corn Trade.

valued

valued at as many pounds ſterling, and that importation is reckoned to have been as great ever ſince; which expence the nation is at, to feed the dogs and horſes, when the people are complaining of the want of bread!

By the keeping of ſo many horſes the farmers are obliged to lay their lands down in graſs, inſtead of cultivating them with Corn; and as a graſs farm does not require above a tenth part of the hands, as one in Corn, the people are thereby deprived of their employment in agriculture, the greateſt loſs that any nation can well ſuſtain, as that breeds and maintains more people than all other employments put together; and the opulent farmers are thereby enabled to engroſs the lands, and monopolize the farms, which not only gives them a monopoly of the neceſſaries of life, but extirpates ſo many people, ſtarves the reſt, and occaſions ſuch a number of poor in ſuch an opulent country.

It is this immoderate expence in horſes, that ſeems to occaſion all the dearth of proviſions in *England*. The firſt riſe of their price was owing to the diſtemper and mortality among the cattle; and as the farmers then took to the breeding of horſes, inſtead of cattle, they have never repaired that loſs; on the contrary, it has daily been increaſing, till that loſs in the ſtock has occaſioned a real ſcarcity both of cattle, milk, butter and cheeſe, on which the

people of *England* chiefly ſubſiſt; and that occaſions a dearth of every thing.

At the ſame time every field about all the populous towns in *England*, and many more in the country, are turned into graſs for the keeping of horſes; the growing of Corn is thereby prevented, and that becomes ſcarce, as well as all the other neceſſaries of life. The land that is kept in graſs for horſes, with the manure that is laid upon it, about all the towns in *England*, and eſpecially about this capital, would maintain a great part of the people, and thereby render proviſions cheap throughout the whole kingdom; which is ſtarved, in order to ſupport the luxury of this Metropolis, and eſpecially in horſes.

Beſides all the other expences of horſes, the greateſt perhaps is the loſs of manure. Horſes digeſt what they eat, and turn it into nouriſhment; whereas in ruminating animals, as cattle and ſheep, the greateſt part of their food paſſes off by the belly, and affords manure for all the food they require themſelves, and for the Corn which they do not eat. Hence cattle manure the graſs grounds on which they live, and even render them fit for mowing; inſomuch that it is the common practice to mow them one year, and feed them another with cattle, which renders them fit to mow again from year to year; and ſheep are well known to manure the land in like manner for Corn, when fed with the turnips upon it, which would otherwiſe exhauſt lands

lands more than the Corn itſelf: it is this that renders flocks and herds ſo profitable to farmers, as well as to the whole nation; when horſes deſtroy every thing, and will eat up the very roots of the graſs they live upon. If they may afford a little manure, it requires as much ſtraw for litter, as would maintain ſo many cattle; when all the manure we have from horſes, is only to raiſe a few melons and cucumbers, in place of bread and meat. Thus horſes impoveriſh the earth, and ſtarve every thing upon it; when flocks and herds give us plenty of every thing, both of Corn, Beef, Mutton, Pork, Milk, Butter and Cheeſe, which are the ſupport of mankind.

Beſides cattle and ſheep, the keeping of horſes occaſions as great a ſcarcity of hogs, which are reckoned to be the leaſt expenſive of all animals, and are the cheapeſt meat that is raiſed, as they will live upon any thing, except the graſs which we keep for horſes. Hence in all well cultivated countries, hogs are the chief ſupport of the people, and eſpecially of the farmers themſelves, as they require no graſs grounds, which are the richeſt of any, and are wanted for Corn, which gives plenty of every thing. But by keeping the beſt of the lands in graſs for the maintenance of horſes, on which the farmers chiefly ſpend their time and labour, we can never have plenty either of Corn, or any other proviſions. The hogs are by that means ſtarved and extirpated, as well

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as the people themſelves; bacon is raiſed to the enormous price of a ſhilling a pound, and pork is not to be had, without which we can never have proviſions cheap. The price of proviſions is perhaps always in proportion to the plenty of hogs; where they are kept, the beſt of the lands, which they do not require, are cultivated in Corn, and we have plenty of that, which, with bacon and pork, lowers the price of all other proviſions. Accordingly, the price of proviſions in *England* has always been riſing, ſince the great conſumption of hogs by the navy in the two laſt wars; which ſeems to have occaſioned a deficiency in the ſtock of theſe, as well as the diſtemper and mortality among the cattle. Were it not for hogs, the people of *America* could hardly live upon all the land they have. Hogs live upon the offals of the earth, and if they eat much, they repay it as well in their growth. They require neither Corn, graſs, nor fodder, which are the great expence of other ſtock, and take up both the lands and labour of the people, to provide for horſes.

Hence if we would lower the price of proviſions, the firſt thing to be done, is, to diminiſh the number of horſes, and to increaſe the ſtock of hogs. Now both theſe may be done, and another much greater advantage obtained at the ſame time, by giving encouragement to the cultivation of the poor and mean lands, in rye, barley, peas, beans, and buckwheat, on which

which hogs are fed, and horſes are not bred; and on this produce of ſuch lands the people ſhould chiefly live, if they would have proviſions cheap. But inſtead of theſe, the people of *England* live upon nothing, as we may ſay, but the fat of the earth; upon the produce of the beſt and richeſt lands in wheat and graſs, and all the reſt are thereby left uncultivated; which renders proviſions twice as dear, as they might otherwiſe be raiſed.

This method of living is incompatible with the keeping of ſo many horſes; the people of *England* eat nothing hardly but the beſt wheaten bread, and at the ſame time export wheat, when they conſume great quantities of fleſh meats, all which require the richeſt lands; the beſt of which muſt be kept in graſs for horſes, which thereby cut off the very ſubſiſtence of the people who live in this manner. And as ſheep are chiefly kept and fed by the farmers, in order to manure their lands for Corn, the keeping of them in graſs for horſes prevents the breeding of ſheep, and muſt deprive the nation of its only ſtaple both of Corn and Wool; which laſt is become as dear as every thing elſe in the kingdom.

If this nation will export Corn, ſhe cannot export horſes with it, and at the ſame time keep ſuch a number at home. Either of theſe ſeems to be a loſs to the nation, and both together may be the ruin of it. If the lands are kept in graſs for horſes, the nation may loſe both the Corn Trade, and Woollen Manufac-

tures, without which it could not exiſt, as an independent ſtate.

This practice of turning arable lands into graſs, has always been ſo common in *England*, that the laws provide againſt it, and diſannull any compact made by a landlord with his tenant not to break up and plow graſs grounds; but as that law is evaded, by laying a fine upon the tenants for all graſs grounds they ſhall break up, arable lands are as ſcarce as ever; when it would appear, from this law itſelf, as well as from the ſmall quantity of land that is tilled in the kingdom, that they have always been wanted; and the late improvements in huſbandry, which turn them into graſs, by the ſowing of graſs ſeeds, or the laying of them down in graſs, in order to ſave the expence of tillage, render arable lands ſtill ſcarcer.

This method of huſbandry proceeds from the great quantities of fleſh meats which are conſumed by the people, which makes a great demand for graſs grounds; and the keeping of ſo many horſes, farther enhances their value, and threatens to ruin the agriculture of the kingdom, or the growing of Corn, as much as the dearneſs of proviſions thereby occaſioned endangers its trade and manufactures.

It is well known, that an acre of good graſs for mowing is worth three pounds, when it would not lett for above ten or twelve ſhillings in arable land. The difference is generally reckoned to be as thirty to ſix, or five for one,

take all the lands in *Great Britain* one with another. This is therefore a great inducement to make this uſe of the land, or to turn it into graſs, inſtead of Corn, even if it ſhould ſtarve the people, and ruin the Corn Trade, the great ſupport of the nation. And it is to reap this advantage from their lands, that the farmers keep ſuch a number of horſes, and turn their farms into graſs for that purpoſe.

Their lands indeed are their own, and they may think, as *Engliſhmen* do, that they may do what they will with them; but lands are a public utility, and cannot be miſapplied, without hurting the whole community, and ruining the ſtate. The uſe of lands is intended by nature itſelf to be very general, if not in common; and they who would engroſs them, or let them lie uncultivated, in graſs for their beaſts, inſtead of corn for men, forbid the firſt command given to mankind, *increaſe and multiply, and repleniſh the earth.*

They tell us indeed, that they have plowed too much, and made too much Corn, ſince the bounty upon it; but that is impoſſible, ſo long as they can have a vent for it, which they have always had. We can never make too much Corn in *England*, till people ceaſe to eat it. The ſtaple of a country, as Corn is in *England*, ſhould not be made dear, otherwiſe you will never preſerve the trade in it, when it may be made in all other parts of the world. This opinion of the farmers, therefore, that they

have made Corn too cheap, is contrary to their own intereſt, and is rather the opinion of the Sellers than the Buyers. Could they make Corn at two ſhillings a buſhel, it would be more for their intereſt, by ſecuring a monopoly in it, and the nation would get more by it, than at four ſhillings; much greater quantities would be exported, a greater number of people employed by it, and the Farmers themſelves would find their account in the cheapneſs of Corn, by lowering the price of every thing they conſume, which riſes or falls in proportion to the price of Corn.

This is the more to be regarded, as the *French* have been endeavouring for many years to deprive this nation both of the Corn Trade and Woollen Manufacture, as appears from their writings and edicts, and the many ſocieties they have inſtituted for that purpoſe. They formerly ſupplied both *England* and *Spain* with Corn, they ſay, and they are in hopes of doing the ſame again; or if their lands will not produce Corn to advantage, they will at leaſt maintain ſheep; and as they ſee theſe are the two great reſources of *England*, they are endeavouring to deprive her of both, and thereby to conquer her, ſay they, more effectually than by the force of arms; which, it is to be feared, they may accompliſh, if the Agriculture of the kingdom ſhould be ruined, by the keeping of ſo many horſes; when our Manufactures are made ſo dear, from the exceſſive price of every thing thereby occaſioned, that we cannot vend them.

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Their ſentiments and words on this occaſion are highly worthy of notice. They would flatter themſelves, that *England* rather loſes than gains by her Trade; that the balance is againſt her; and that ſhe has no income but from her Corn. 'Can there be a more noble Manufacture, therefore, or a richer branch of Trade found out, than the Manufacture and Trade of Corn? ſay they. Is it not evidently true, that it is this Manufacture, and this branch of Trade, that have actually ſupported *England*, and have been the ſource both of its power and its ſtrength, ever ſince we have been ſo infatuated as to deprive ourſelves of it? The State, which abounds moſt in Corn, abounds moſt in ſtrength and power.—We ought not then to loſe a moment's time in recovering this Manufacture and Trade in Corn from the *Engliſh*, which, as I have ſaid more than once, they never could have availed themſelves of, if we had been wiſe enough to have availed ourſelves of it, in the manner we might and ſhould have done——This would be infinitely more fatal to *England* than the loſs of ten battles *;' from which let *England* take warning. *Fas eſt & ab hoſte doceri.*

From theſe motives, and by theſe encouragements, the *French* now export great quantities of Corn; when the frequent prohibitions laid upon it here, of which there have been ſix

* *Silhouette's* View of *England*, p. 203.

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in the laſt nine years, open the markets to them, and may deprive this nation of the trade.

Thus if *England* ſhould loſe the Corn Trade, *France* would gain it, which might be a double loſs to *Britain*; and this loſs would be the greater, as Corn is the only ſtaple commodity of any great conſequence that the land produces for exportation, to pay for the many foreign productions of the earth which are imported into this kingdom. Corn, which in all other countries is looked upon only as a neceſſary of life, and an article of conſumption, is in *England* the chief article both of conſumption and of commerce, and the grand ſtaple commodity that pays the great balance of Trade, which is againſt this nation in moſt parts of the world. Hence Corn is to *England*, what wine and oil are to *France* and *Spain*, or ſugar and tobacco to our colonies, their chief ſtaple commodities. Thus nature has diſtributed her bounties to all, and every one has their ſhare, if they did not covet more.

But notwithſtanding the Corn Trade is of ſuch conſequence to this nation, it is in danger of being loſt from three ſeveral cauſes; firſt, from the engroſſing of the lands and farms, which occaſions a want of people to cultivate them; ſecondly, from the laying of the lands down in graſs, or ſowing them with graſs ſeeds, inſtead of corn, in order to maintain ſuch a number of horſes; and thirdly, from the heavy taxes on the ſubject, eſpecially in *articles*

of

of daily consumption, which must affect the Agriculture of the kingdom, as well as its Trade and Manufactures.

The first of these is not indeed complained of by the Farmers, who reap the profits of this monopoly, however it is by the poor, and by the people in general; but these same Farmers complain much of the want of hands, to cultivate their lands, and to get in their harvests; of which they themselves are the cause, by engrossing the lands, and extirpating the people. Hence they are not able to cultivate the lands, or to make such crops as they would otherwise yield; which both enhances the value of their produce to the public, and depreciates the value of lands to the owners, much more than the repair of houses for poor Farmers, Labourers, and Workmen, would cost them.

It is surprising, that the proprietors of lands should endeavour to raise their value, by pulling down their houses, and expelling the people from them. As the riches of every state proceed from the number of people, so every individual estate is more or less valuable according to the number of people upon it. If a few cannot pay their rents, they should get more to help them; for people live by one another, the farmer by the tradesman, and the last upon the produce of the lands. Where lands have no people upon them, they are worth nothing. And though a few opulent farmers may at first give a high rent for lands, yet they are soon obliged

obliged to lower it for want of hands, when the labourers are gone; and for want of the conſumption which they occaſion.

The farmers are then obliged to lay their lands down in graſs, inſtead of cultivating them in Corn; which practice has become ſo common, eſpecially among thoſe who have large farms, which they can hardly manage, and among others who ſtudy improvements, as many have done of late, that they who are acquainted with the agriculture of the kingdom, have foreſeen and foretold the preſent dearth and ſcarcity of proviſions from this cauſe alone, many years before it happened; and are of opinion, that this muſt occaſion a ſcarcity of Corn, the chief ſtaple of the land, as well as of all other proviſions. Theſe and the like improvements in huſbandry, are, indeed, honeſtly intended to improve the land to the beſt advantage, and thereby to prevent a ſcarcity, were not all the fruits of their labor deſtroyed, by ſo many horſes. And as a much greater quantity both of graſs and fodder has been produced by the late improvements in huſbandry, notwithſtanding which the price of proviſions daily riſes, this is a plain proof, that the produce of the graſs grounds is conſumed by horſes, which occaſions a dearth of butchers meat; while the laying of the lands down in graſs for horſes at the ſame time obſtructs the growing of Corn, and thereby renders all ſorts of proviſions dear.

It is for theſe reaſons, that ſuch vaſt quantities of land in *England* lye uncultivated for want of hands, which nothing but an extenſive cultivation and tillage will either breed or maintain. It is not above one half of the lands in this kingdom, that can be ſaid to be cultivated. All the foreſts, commons, heaths, downs, &c. are ſo many waſte lands; great part of the reſt lyes in a bare ſwade for paſturage; and the very beſt of the lands are kept in graſs for horſes, as we may ſee about all the towns, and other parts of the kingdom.

The chief of the lands that are cultivated in *England*, are only ſuch as will bear good graſs, and wheat, which require the very beſt and richeſt lands; theſe are engroſſed by a few, who endeavour to ſupply the markets with the produce of them at as dear a rate as poſſible; and all the reſt of the lands, which would produce good crops of almoſt any thing elſe, lye uncultivated. It is for this reaſon, that the nation has ſo few people, that the few we have ſeem to decreaſe, and are maintained at ſo dear a rate. This proceeds from the want of tillage, and that occaſions a ſcarcity of huſbandmen and labourers to cultivate the land, and to ſupport the great variety of other employments in the kingdom, which its extenſive trade creates.

Having thus conſidered the cauſes of this dearth, they may perhaps ſuggeſt ſome remedy for ſuch a rivetted and confirmed evil.

The firſt thing thought of for this purpoſe is, to prohibit the exportation of Corn; which is

undoubtedly neceſſary, on the preſent occaſion, as the crop is generally thought to be ſo ſhort, that without ſuch an expedient there might not be Corn enough left in the country to ſupply the people, eſpecially when there are ſo many unlimited commiſſions for it from many parts of *Europe*. But however neceſſary ſuch a meaſure may be in the mean time, it will avail but little, to prevent that general dearth of every thing, which has prevailed for ſo many years; on the contrary, this expedient may rather increaſe the laſting cauſe of this evil, of which we only endeavour to prevent the temporary effects. The cauſe of this dearth appears to be the want of a more general cultivation, which will not be promoted, but farther obſtructed, by prohibiting the exportation of Corn; that likewiſe prevents the growing of it, and renders it dearer: And by theſe frequent prohibitions, of which there have been ſo many within theſe few years, the nation may loſe the Corn Trade, and conſpire with its enemies to ruin the Agriculture of the kingdom, and only ſtaple of the land.

Thus great care ſhould be taken, that we do not precipitate the nation into thoſe evils which we would prevent. By diſcouraging the Farmers to grow Corn, we render it ſcarcer, and enhance the price, which we endeavour to reduce. The exportation makes ſuch a plenty of Corn in the country, more than is conſumed, that it has reduced the price one fifth,

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from five to four ſhillings a buſhel. Therefore, if the exportation were prohibited, as many ſeem to deſire, there is all reaſon to believe, that Corn would always be at its preſent high price, as it was for a hundred years together, before the exportation was encouraged. Nay, it is highly probable, that Corn would be much dearer now, than it was in former days, ſince the price of every thing elſe in the kingdom, and conſequently of Agriculture, is ſo much advanced. And by prohibiting the exportation, the nation would be deprived of that ſtore of Corn, which ſupplies it in times of ſcarcity, ſuch as the preſent; and might again be reduced to that ruinous ſtate of purchaſing Corn in every ſcarce year; which was formerly ſo great a burden and drain to the nation, that we are told by *Sir Walter Raleigh*, in his letters to King *James*, Corn had in ſome years coſt *England* upwards of *two millions* ſterling *: This was the caſe, till the export-

* A dearth in *England*, and other places, is truely obſerved to enrich *Holland* ſeven years; for example, the laſt dearth, ſix years paſt, the *Hamburghers*, *Embdeners*, and *Hollanders*, out of their ſtorehouſes, furniſhed this kingdom; and from *Southampton*, *Exeter*, and *Briſtol*, in a year and a half, they carried away near 200,000 *l.* from theſe parts only: then what great quantity of coin was tranſported round about your kingdom from every port town; and from your city of *London*, and other cities, cannot be eſtimated ſo little as *two millions*, to the great decay of your kingdom, and impoveriſhing your people; diſcredit to the company of merchants, and diſhonour to the land that any nation that have no Corn in their own coun-

exportation, which was in a manner prohibited, was effectually allowed by King *Charles* II. in 1663, and was even encouraged by a bounty, by the firſt of *William* and *Mary*; ſince which the nation, ſo far from purchaſing Corn, has exported great quantities, and at the ſame time enjoyed the benefit of a much cheaper conſumption at home.

They who imagine, that the prohibiting of the exportation would reduce the price of Corn, think that the ſame quantity would be made for the home conſumption, as is now made both for that and exportation; that the overplus, which is now exported, would all come to market, and thereby lower the price; in which they are certainly miſtaken. Unleſs the Farmers have a certain vent for their Corn, and can be aſſured of a reaſonable profit by it, we cannot expect, that they will grow it; neither can they afford to be at the expence of tillage, or to employ the Labourers and Poor of the kingdom, unleſs they ſee their own private intereſt in ſuch public benefits. To render Corn cheap, the Farmers ſhould be encouraged

try growing, ſhould ſerve this famous kingdom, which God hath ſo enabled within itſelf. *Sir* Walter Raleigh's *Works*, Vol. ii. p. 117.

This is the great argument uſed by Mr. *Silhouette*, in his View of *England*, for allowing an exportation of Corn in *France*, and ſhewing the benefit of it to this nation; although he miſrepreſents the argument in point of time and circumſtances, which corroborate it.

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to grow great quantities, which alone will ever reduce the price of ſuch a neceſſary; the Conſumer would thereby have it at a reaſonable rate, while the Farmer is compenſated, by the quantity, for what he loſes in the value: But as people eat no more Corn, when it is cheap and plentiful, than in times of ſcarcity, we cannot expect, that the Farmers will grow ſuch a quantity, as is deſired, in order to lie upon their hands, and to reduce the price of all that they make. It is this that renders the exportation of Corn ſo neceſſary, in order to encourage the Farmers to grow as much as they can, ſince they are thereby always ſure of a vent, and reaſonable price, for it: But if this were prohibited, we ſhould have no more grown than would ſerve the conſumption, a quantity which would not reduce the price; the ſupplies would be as uncertain and precarious as the ſeaſons; in ſcarce years the nation would want; in very plentiful crops the Farmers might be ruined by their own induſtry; and the nation would loſe that vaſt advantage which proceeds from a general and extenſive Agriculture, and the employment of ſo many people by it. Thus the exportation of Corn is not only allowed, but encouraged, in order to increaſe the quantity above the conſumption, which will always keep it at a moderate price.

It may perhaps be expected, that if the Farmers did not grow ſuch quantities of Corn for exportation, they would raiſe more ſtock, and thereby

thereby reduce the price of other Provisions. But this general opinion of those, who are unacquainted with Agriculture, seems to be contrary both to reason and experience. Uncultivated lands do not yield so much, for the support either of man or beast, as they would do by culture. The very offals of fields of Corn, with the plentiful pasturage after harvest, yield more food than a bare swade; and the crops of Turneps, Grass Seeds, &c. which are, and may be, sowed with Corn, both maintain stock, and render them fit for killing, which we cannot expect from uncultivated lands. If Farmers let the lands lie uncultivated in Grass, it is not so much to raise stock, as to save the expence of tillage, which is the greatest loss to the nation, not only in the price of Provisions, but in the want of employment for so many people: Thus we should encourage tillage, as is hereafter proposed, in order to reduce the price of other Provisions as well as of Corn, which renders every thing cheap.

If these things are considered, it will appear, that the proposals which are commonly made to prevent this dearth, will rather increase it, and precipitate the nation into that ruin which it threatens, as will abundantly appear from the following considerations:

I. If we prohibit the exportation of Corn after the present scarcity ceases, as many seem to desire, in order to relieve our Trade and Manufactures, we not only lose the chief staple

of the land, and moſt profitable branch of Trade, which brings in as great a balance, perhaps, as all the other branches of foreign Trade put together; but we may thereby render Corn and Proviſions much dearer, than they have ever yet been.

II. On the other hand, if the preſent dearth continues, it muſt endanger the Manufactures, Trade, and Navigation of the kingdom, which are of much greater conſequence. The Trade of *Great Britain* amounts to eleven millions a year, when the value of the Corn exported is but 835,000 *l.*, *communibus annis*; and that export, deducting the bounty and import of Corn, is valued to the nation but at 651,000 *l. per annum* *.

III. If we take the bounty off of Corn, it obſtructs the growing of it, and renders it dearer; but if we continue the bounty on the exportation, it is a tax upon the home conſumption, and will always render Corn dearer, than it might be made, providing the Farmers would grow it; which there appears to be no way to induce them to do, in ſuch quantities as to render it cheap, but to give them a like bounty on the home conſumption, ſo as to render Corn more profitable to them than any other crop. If this is not done, they export it for the ſake of the bounty, which they cannot otherwiſe get, and thereby raiſe the price at home, if they ſhould ſell it for leſs abroad.

* Tracts on the Corn Trade, p. 136.

IV. So

IV. So if we reſtrain or prohibit the exportation of Corn, it renders arable lands of leſs value, and ſcarcer, when they are already much wanted; this will obſtruct tillage, and enhance the value of Graſs Grounds, which is the great ſource of the evil; and muſt raiſe the price of Corn, which renders every thing dear.

V. But above all, though the people murmur at the exportation of Corn, the laying of any reſtraint upon it will obſtruct the tillage of the country, deprive them of their chief employment, and the nation of ſo many people, who are already by far too few, and ſeem to decreaſe, for want of this employment in Agriculture.

Thus by endeavouring to remove the temporary effects of this dearth, we may increaſe the cauſe, and render it more or leſs perpetual in the kingdom; which is otherwiſe to be apprehended, from what we have ſeen for ſeveral years paſt.

And by endeavouring to preſerve the Corn Trade at any rate, when Proviſions and every thing elſe are ſo dear, we may ruin the other branches of Trade and Navigation, on which the very being of this nation depends. To allow a bounty on Corn, in order to ſupply our rivals in Trade and Manufactures, cheaper than ourſelves, ſeems to be contrary to this fundamental ſupport of the kingdom. Corn is a ſource both of wealth and power; it breeds and maintains people, and enables them to carry on

works

works of every kind, which are the riches and ſtrength of every nation, and which we ſtrengthen our enemies with, by ſupplying them with Corn. Hence Corn ought not to be exported from any country, if it be not from the want of people to conſume it at home, which we can never have without plenty of Corn.

Thus the Corn Trade ſeems to interfere with the other branches of Trade, and the exportation with the home conſumption; and all theſe four ſhould be equally conſidered, ſo as to make them ſubſervient to one another, and to the general welfare of the whole.

If all theſe things are duly conſidered, there ſeems to be no way to prevent the inconveniencies which may attend the one or the other, but to give a bounty on the home conſumption, as well as upon the exportation of Corn; and that ſeems likewiſe to be the only way to prevent the dearth and ſcarcity of Proviſions, which threatens to continue, as it has for many years, unleſs ſome ſuch ſeaſonable relief is afforded. If it be not by ſuch an expedient, it will be very difficult, if not impracticable, to render Corn and Proviſions cheap in this kingdom, where all other things are ſo dear; and if theſe are dear, nothing can be cheap. If we would lower the price of our Manufactures, and all other articles of trade and conſumption, it can only be done, by reducing the price of Corn and Proviſions in the firſt place, by a bounty upon our own conſumption, as well as upon that of our rivals.

Now this is with all ſubmiſſion propoſed to be done, by laying a tax upon horſes, and giving it as a bounty upon the Corn that is conſumed by our *own* labourers and manufacturers; and by taking off the taxes upon the *Articles of daily conſumption*, which are uſed by them and every one elſe, and by ſubſtituting this tax upon horſes in lieu of them. Theſe two would cut off all the ſources of theſe general complaints, and ruinous dearth of every thing, and that by one and the ſame feaſable and practicable method.

The cauſes of this dearth, as we have ſhewn, are 1. a monopoly of the lands by opulent farmers, which occaſions a want of huſbandmen and labourers; 2. the ſuperior value of graſs above Corn, from the number of horſes that are kept; and 3. the heavy taxes which fall upon the huſbandmen, and conſequently upon the neceſſaries of life; to prevent which, they muſt be relieved in the firſt place, either by taking off the taxes upon the neceſſaries which they conſume, or by giving them a bounty upon what they make, and we would humbly propoſe to do both; which would cut off the very ſources of this dearth of every thing, as well as of Corn and proviſions, by one and the ſame expedient. For

I. Such an expedient will take off the taxes on theſe neceſſary articles, which are uſed by every one, and by the meaneſt tradeſman or mechanic, as well as by the farmers, which enhances

enhances the price of their labor in every thing, and even of the neceſſaries of life; and this laſt increaſes the evil, and renders every thing dear that the country produces.

II. A tax on horſes, and a bounty on Corn, will both equally contribute to render Corn more valuable to the farmers, and encourage them to grow it for the ſupport of the people, inſtead of graſs for horſes.

III. And as they are enabled to monopolize the farms from the ſuperior value of graſs above arable lands, the laying of a tax upon the firſt in horſes, and giving a bounty upon the laſt in Corn, would prevent the many ruinous effects of that monopoly, which both ſtarves and extirpates the people; and thereby deprives the nation of huſbandmen ſufficient to ſupply the markets, as well as of people for all other employments.

Thus the propoſed tax on horſes would be ſo far from being a new and additional tax upon the ſubject, or oppreſſion of the people, that it would relieve them from the moſt grievous taxes they bear, and would in itſelf be the greateſt benefit they could well receive, as it would tend to leſſen the number of horſes, which are the great cauſe of the dearth and ſcarcity that are ſo much complained of. And ſuch a tax, thus appropriated, would not only relieve the poor, and leſſen their numbers, but would by that means amply repay itſelf in the poors rates; whereas the preſent taxes on the

neceſſaries of life increaſe their numbers, and render them ſuch a burden on the nation.

It is only by a tax on horſes, and a bounty on Corn, that we can either render Corn cheap, or encourage the farmers to raiſe ſtock, in order to ſupply the markets with other proviſions. So long as they find horſes more valuable to them than other ſtock, they will always raiſe the one before the other: but while they conſume both the graſs and fodder, and keep the beſt corn lands in graſs in order to breed and keep ſuch a number of horſes, we can never expect to ſee either Corn or other proviſions cheap.

And ſo long as this dearth continues, which it threatens to do, the nation muſt either loſe the Corn Trade, or ſuffer by it at home; which there is no way to prevent, but by giving a bounty on the home conſumption, as well as upon the exportation of Corn. That will relieve our own trade and manufactures, at the ſame time that we ſupply our rivals; and there appears to be no other way to do both. If we give a bounty on Corn to our neighbours, and perhaps to our rivals and enemies, we ſhould at leaſt give the ſame encouragement to our own people; otherwiſe they muſt ſoon have a ſuperiority over us in trade and manufactures, eſpecially when every thing in this kingdom, and even the neceſſaries of life, are become ſo dear. The *Spaniards* may get the woollen manufacture from us, and the *Italians* that of ſilk,

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by means of *Engliſh* Corn. Yet it muſt be owned, that the Corn Trade is a very great advantage to this nation, and we ſhould endeavour to preſerve both, both that and our manufactures.

Among the other advantages of the trade and exportation of Corn, the greateſt perhaps is, that it ſerves the nation for a public granary; it is only the bounty and exportation, that encourages the farmer to grow more Corn than is conſumed, and thereby to provide the nation with ſuch a ſtore, which ſupplies it in time of want. Thus the exportation of Corn is a granary, which ſupplies the nation in time of ſcarcity, and for that reaſon ſhould be carefully huſbanded and preſerved in times of plenty. And as an article of trade, Corn is perhaps more valuable than any one in the kingdom.

Theſe benefits the nation has reaped from the exportation of Corn, and the bounty upon it has no doubt very much contributed to theſe national advantages. Since that bounty was granted, the price of Corn, which was for 100 years before at 1 *l.* 18 *s.* a quarter, or 4 *s.* 9 *d.* a buſhel, has been reduced to 1 *l.* 13 *s.* 2 *d.* a quarter, upon an average of the laſt ſixty-eight years; and for twenty years paſt it has been, *communibus annis*, at 1 *l.* 11 *s.* 8 *d.* a quarter, not quite four ſhillings a buſhel. But although we cannot altogether attribute this abatement in the price to the bounty on Corn,

as

as many do *; but to the more general uſe and greater conſumption of Corn in former days

* It is without diſpute a matter of fact, that Corn has been cheaper in *England*, ſince the bounty was granted on the exportation, than it was before; this ſeems to be attributed entirely to the bounty, but we cannot be of that opinion, for the following reaſons:

I. The people of *England* appear formerly to have eat much more Corn, and leſs meat, than they do at preſent; and as they were much worſe Farmers, Corn was dear, and other Proviſions cheaper in proportion. An ox was then worth but 30 or 40 ſhillings (and not above 16 ſhillings in the reign of *Edward* IV.) when Corn was at ſix or ſeven ſhillings a buſhel; but the firſt is now five or ſix times as dear, and the laſt at four ſhillings a buſhel, which ſhews a much greater conſumption of Corn, than of Meat, in former days. The ſame manner of living, which ſeems formerly to have been general throughout the whole Iſland, is ſtill continued in *Scotland*, where they conſume their Corn, and ſell their Cattle; but *England* buys cattle both from *Scotland* and *Ireland*, ſince thoſe kingdoms have been united with her, and ſells her Corn; thereby gaining much leſs than is imagined by ſuch a change, and more expenſive way of living.

II. The greater cheapneſs of Corn proceeds from the many improvements in Agriculture, ſince the bounty was granted, particularly in the ſowing of Graſs Seeds and Turneps, with the great improvements that have been made in ploughing, marling, liming, and otherwiſe manuring of lands; by which twice as much land is rendered fit to bear Corn, and particularly Wheat, as was before, or as we ſhould now have, without theſe methods of cultivating and manuring, which were not known nor practiſed in former times. Theſe are owing to the improvements made in all other Arts and Sciences, and not to the bounty on Corn; however that might have encouraged the Farmers to ſet about theſe improvements, when they come to be known.

III. The

days than the preſent; to the many improvements which have been made in Agriculture ſince

III. The advantage of the exportation of Corn ariſes from new markets for it; but the great advancement of Trade and Manufactures in *England*, ſince the bounty was granted, has opened a much better market for Corn, than all we have abroad, and is a much greater encouragement to Agriculture, as appears from the quantity of Corn conſumed and exported.

We ſhould not therefore deceive ourſelves with the notion of rendering Corn cheap, by ſupplying our neighbours cheaper than ourſelves.—Was *Britain* to convert her Corn to her own uſe, and to promote her Trade and Manufactures by the plenty which the land affords, it would be much more for her benefit, than to ſtrengthen her enemies and rivals by theſe her own reſources.—This would be a much greater encouragement to the landed intereſt, than all the Corn that is exported.—Trade and Manufactures raiſe the value of lands, much more than the exportation of Corn.—And the power of the nation would be enlarged with its Trade and Navigation, and a much better ſecurity obtained for lands and every thing elſe.—Was this nation to convert her natural plenty to her own uſe, ſhe need not be in daily fear of being inſulted by her enemies, whom ſhe ſupports.—Agriculture, it is true, is the firſt thing to be conſidered and encouraged by all nations; but it ſhould be to maintain our own people, and not our enemies.—If a bounty is neceſſary for that purpoſe, it ſhould be given to our own, and not to foreign, Workmen; or at leaſt we ſhould put them upon a level, and give a bounty to the one, as well as the other.—The bounty on Corn is only intended to encourage the growing of it, and that is much more promoted by our own people than by foreigners.

For theſe reaſons it would appear, that if we do not give a bounty to our own Labourers and Workmen, we ſhould at leaſt lower that upon the exportation given to foreigners. That bounty was only intended to be given on Corn, by 1 *W.* and *M.* chap. 12, " when the price thereof is

" at

ſince that bounty was granted; and to the advancement of Trade and Manufactures, which have opened a much better market for Corn than any we have abroad; yet it muſt be owned, that the bounty is a very great encou-

" at a *low rate* in this kingdom," which was then deemed to be 48 ſhillings a quarter for Wheat; but now, when the bounty is leſs proper or needful, that is a very *high price*, and ſuch as is complained of by the poor, who raiſed the late tumults as ſoon as Wheat came to that price, as they did in 1757. In order therefore to prevent the like diſturbances for the future, as well as to encourage our Manufactures, no bounty ſhould be granted on Wheat, after the price exceeds 40 ſhillings a quarter, and none ſhould be exported, after it comes to 48 ſhillings.—The average price was made the rule for the bounty, when it was granted, and the ſame ſhould take place now. The price then was 38 ſhillings a quarter, and the bounty was granted till it came to 48 ſhillings, which was ten ſhillings above the average price; and 40 ſhillings is the ſame now, when the average price, for forty years paſt, has been 1*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.* a quarter, or 3*s.* 10*d.* a buſhel. And as it ſeems to have been unreaſonable, at firſt, to have given a bounty on Wheat, when it was ten ſhillings above the average price, it is ſtill more unreaſonable to continue it now at the ſame rate, as that exceeds the average or common price by 18 ſhillings a quarter, nigh two thirds of the whole value.—If this ſhould be thought a diſcouragement to Agriculture, which we would rather promote, there ſeems to be no way to prevent the many inconveniencies attending the bounty on ſuch a high price, but to give a like bounty on other Corn to our Workmen, in order to enjoy this exportation of Wheat; or at leaſt, if Wheat is exported at this price, the exportation of other Grain ſhould be reſtrained, if not prohibited, for the reaſons hereafter given. In times of dearth, the price of every thing riſes, and is never again lowered, till the Manufactures and Trade of the kingdom will be ruined.

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ragement to the growing of Corn, and ſupplies the nation with it in that plenty, which it can avail itſelf of in times of ſcarcity, if it does not render Corn cheaper at all times.

Now if theſe advantages have been received from the bounty upon the exportation of Corn, how much greater might we not expect from a like bounty on the home conſumption, with which the quantity exported is not to be compared. It is to the improvements of Huſbandry, and the advancement of Trade and Manufactures, that the greater cheapneſs of Corn in the preſent than in former days is to be attributed; and a promotion of theſe at home, rather than abroad, would be a much greater encouragement to Agriculture, and the growing of Corn, than all that is exported; which is not a third part, if a fourth part of the ſeed that is ſown. The quantity of Corn taken from us by foreigners is but a mere trifle, in compariſon of what is conſumed at home; the firſt, upon an average of the laſt 68 years, amounts but to 422,352 quarters, the laſt to 14 millions of quarters, of which ſeven millions and an half are conſumed in food. Thus the export is but one thirty-ſixth part of the Corn that is grown *, ſo that a bounty on that is but a very inconſiderable encouragement to Agriculture, which is loaded with all the heavy taxes of this kingdom.

* See the Tracts on the Corn Trade, p. 144.

A bounty therefore on the home conſumption would be a much greater encouragement to the growing of Corn, in order to ſupply the nation with it at a cheaper rate, than ever that upon the exportation was ſuppoſed to have been; and that encouragement to the growing of it, with the abatement of the price by the bounty, would be an effectual and certain means of rendering Corn cheap, particularly to the poor, and to Labourers and Workmen, who receive the benefit of the bounty.

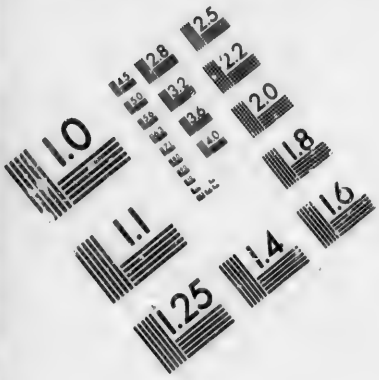
Such a bounty would likewiſe be a relief to the landed intereſt, and Farmers, on whom all the heavy taxes in the kingdom chiefly fall. As land is the fountain of every thing, ſo it bears the burden of all, and ſhould be relieved in the firſt place, if we would have plenty from it, or the produce of it cheap. The great encouragements wanted by the Land-owners and Farmers are,

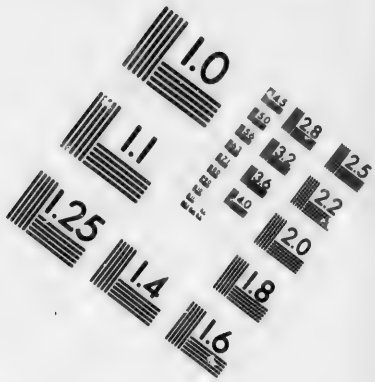
I. To enable them to keep up and repair the habitations and dwellings of the Poor, which are otherwiſe ſuch a burden on their eſtates, that the many evils above-mentioned chiefly proceed from this cauſe. It is from the expence of repairs, that the poor are expelled from the lands, which are by that means engroſſed by the rich; the farms are monopolized, and the people extirpated, for the enrichment of a few opulent Farmers, rather than the maintainance of a numerous race of poorer and better ſubjects, who are both the ſtrength and riches of every ſtate; and as this is the buſi-

neſs of the public, rather than of any private perſons, ſome public encouragement ought to be given to ſuch a general and national concern, without which this nation may want people, either to cultivate the lands, to carry on its Trade and Manufactures, or even to ſecure and defend the kingdom.

II. The greateſt improvement of the landed eſtates would be the taking in and cultivating of the poorer and meaner lands, which now produce little or nothing, and that would, at the ſame time, be as great a benefit to the public. It is only by that means, that this nation can extend its Agriculture, in proportion to its extenſive Trade and Manufactures, or maintain people at a reaſonable rate to ſupport them both. So long as the people live upon nothing but the fat of the earth, and conſume only the produce of the beſt and richeſt lands, this nation will never have ſo many people as it wants, nor will they ever have Proviſions cheap. It is only upon the produce of the poorer lands, which moſtly lie uncultivated, that we can expect to maintain the poor, who are ſo numerous in the kingdom. But as the upholding of houſes for them, and the improvements of poorer lands, are more chargeable than what they may produce is worth, we cannot perhaps expect to ſee either of theſe done, without ſome public encouragement, or a bounty upon the produce of ſuch poor and uncultivated lands.

Thus the propoſed bounty on Corn is chiefly wanted for ſuch as is, and may be, conſumed





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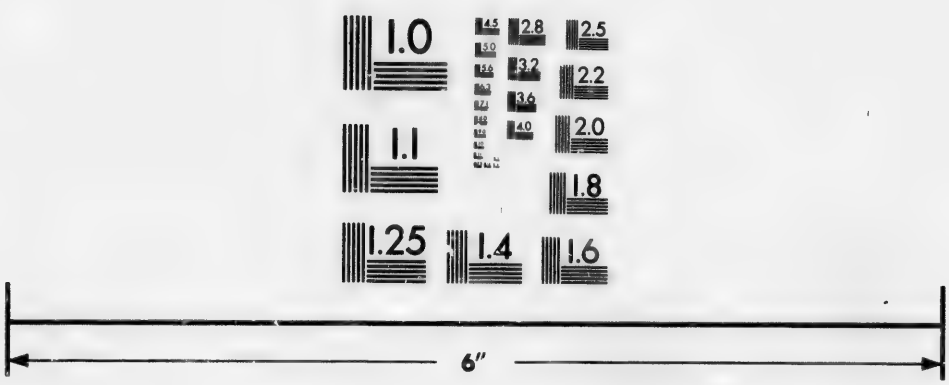

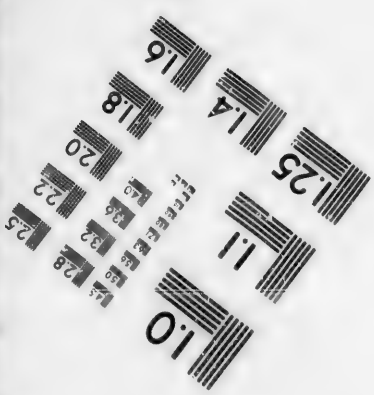

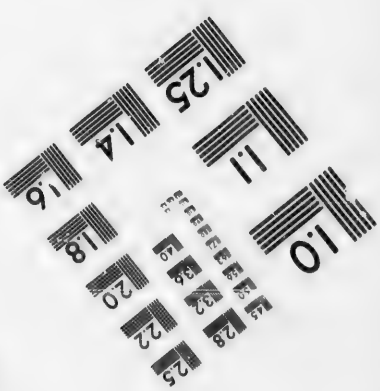

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by the poor, and for the produce of the poorer lands, ſuch as *rye*, *barley*, *oats*, *ſprat*, *peas*, *beans*, or *buckwheat*; theſe are much cheaper than Wheat, on which the bounty is now chiefly given, and which the Farmers for that reaſon only make in any plenty. It is for this reaſon, that the very poor in *England*, with the common Labourers and Workmen, eat nothing almoſt but the beſt wheaten bread, and ſuch as people of fortune could hardly get in other countries; which renders their living much more expenſive than it otherwiſe need to be. In former days they lived chiefly on rye, barley, or oatmeal; in *Scotland*, the common people and Labourers have no other ſort of Corn, and hardly any other food but oatmeal; in *Ireland*, they live on potatoes; in the *Plantations*, on *Indian* Corn; in *Germany*, on rye; in *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Italy*, on barley or ſprat; and in *France*, on their *Bled noir*, or buckwheat, by which they work ſo much cheaper than the *Engliſh* *.

Now

* Some of theſe ſorts of grain ſeem not to be ſo well known in *Britain*, as they deſerve. Buckwheat is almoſt the only Corn in cold northern climates, and on poor ſandy lands in the ſouth; of which we have a new ſort from *Siberia*. It will grow on the pooreſt land, and is ſo far from exhauſting it, that it rather improves land, by covering and ſhading it with its procumbent branches, and opening it to the air and dews by its long tap-root, like peas. Thus you might have a good crop of this on all the poor waſte lands in *England*, which might bring them into culture, and maintain all the poor in the kingdom, as it does in *France*.

I

Now as theſe ſorts of grain are much cheaper than wheat, it would be a vaſt ſaving to the nation

It is likewiſe the cheapeſt food of any both for hogs and horſes, and would very much reduce the price both of Corn, and other proviſions, by feeding horſes, and increaſing the ſtock of hogs, with this cheapeſt of all grain.

The Sprat *(Zea)* is likewiſe but little known in *England*, although it is reckoned to be the beſt Corn of any, except wheat, which it ſo much reſembles, that it is commonly deemed by farmers to be a ſpecies of that grain. It is a grain between wheat and barley, and ſerves for both in many countries; both for bread, beer, food for horſes and all other creatures. In the ſouthern parts of *Europe* it is ſtill as much eſteemed, as it was by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, who called it by way of eminence *Zea*, i. e. *Grain*. This ſeems likewiſe to be the *middle grain* (*Cao leang*) of the *Chineſe*, which is one of the five ſorts that the Emperor ſows every year with his own hands, as being the moſt neceſſary, and including all the reſt. They give it this name, as they reckon it to be a middle grain between rice and wheat, and to ſerve both for wheat, barley and oats. It thrives ſo well in northern climates, that the *Chineſe* colonies which have ſettled the northern parts of *Tartary*, in a very cold and inhoſpitable climate, have no other Corn, but this their middle grain, and millet, as we are informed by the *Miſſionaries* who ſurveyed that country; 'but whatever may be its true name, ſay they, it is of a very good 'taſte, and would probably grow in ſome parts of *Europe*, 'which will produce no other grain.' Hence we ſhould think, that ſprat and buckwheat would be a very good improvement in *Scotland*, where they have hardly any other Corn but oats; as well as in the northern parts of *England*, where they ſow *Maſlin*, or a mixture of wheat and rye. The deſign of ſowing this, which is the *French Meteil*, proceeds from an obſervation in hot and dry climates, which is, that in dry years you have plenty of rye, although little wheat; and in wet ſeaſons this laſt abounds, when the other fails—ſo that you are always ſure of Corn; but whether this will hold in the cold and wet climate where

it

nation, to maintain the people with them, and much more than the whole exportation of corn amounts

it is ſown in *England*, is not ſo certain; neither is the climate ſo ſubject to drought as to make a dearth of wheat. We ſhould think, that *ſprat* would be more ſuitable to this climate, and *maſlin* in *North America*, as they both thrive on poorer land and a dryer ſandy ſoil, than wheat.—Of this grain there are three different ſorts, one reſembling barley, with a ſingle or double cheſt; and the other more like wheat, called *wheat with ears of barley. (Triticum Spica Hordei*, Raj.) The firſt is known in *England* by the name of *Sprat-Barley*, and we may call the other *Sprat-Wheat (Zeo-Pyrum,)* as it is by the Botaniſts. But both of theſe are very different from any ſort of true wheat or barley. The ear is flat, and not round; although in all other reſpects the plant reſembles wheat, and like that ſtands the winter.

This Corn would be more particularly uſeful, in our colonies in *North America*, which lye exactly in the ſame climate with the part of *Tartary* here mentioned, and have no ſort of Corn that agrees with their ſingular and peculiar climate. No *European* grain, indeed, agrees perfectly well with the climate in any part of *North America*. The harveſt is from two to three months later, than it ſhould be for the latitude of the place, on account of the hard winters. Hence the Corn is generally ſtunted, and the grain ſhrivelled. Were it not for the *Mays* or *Indian* Corn, thoſe colonies could not ſubſiſt, nor be of any ſervice to the nation. Although that Corn is not wanted in *Britain*, it is the ſource of every thing that this nation receives from all the colonies it has. In the northern colonies, where none but a ſmall early ſort of this Corn will grow, which does not yield above half a crop, they can make nothing for *Britain*, and it is in vain to think of it, if it were only on that account. In *New-England* they are obliged to give a bounty on the growing of Corn to eat; and we cannot expect that they can make any thing before that, and much leſs Hemp and Flax, which deſtroy the beſt Corn lands.

Wheat

amounts to. Take barley, rye, and oats, one with another, they are not above half the price of

Wheat will not grow in *North America*, ſo as to yield a certain crop every year, any where to the northward of *Boſton*, and there it thrives but very ill. What they call wheat in *Canada* and *Nova Scotia*, is nothing but the *French Bled marſais*, as they tell us, which they ſow in *May*, inſtead of *March*, and reap in *Auguſt*. This is of the ſame kind with the *Siberia* wheat, and *Lapland* barley, which ripen in ſix weeks after they are ſowed, when they are not above eight or nine inches high. Thus no ſort of *Corn* will grow in thoſe climates, if it be not ſome diminutive ſpecies, which are not worth ſowing any where elſe, and conſequently we cannot expect to get any thing elſe from them.

If ever thoſe countries produce any thing, it muſt be ſome commodity of their own, for no others will grow in the climate. The only ſort of Corn proper for the northern parts of *America*, is one that grows naturally in the ſoil and climate, well known to many by the name of *wild Oats*. It is ſo called, becauſe it grows like an oat, but the grain is to all intents and purpoſes a ſpecies of rice. It excells that, however, and all other ſorts of grain that are known, in many remarkable properties; it neither requires reaping, threſhing, cleaning, grinding, bolting, nor baking; the grain is eaſily gathered with the hand, and is fit to eat, boiled like rice, as ſoon as it is gathered; it neither adheres to the huſk, like rice, barley and oats, nor has it any bran like wheat, which create a great expence in theſe ſorts of grain. It likewiſe affords food both for man and beaſt, or ripe Corn, and green fodder, at one and the ſame time. The blade, which grows four or five feet long, and ſometimes ſeven, has a ſweetneſs in it like *Indian* Corn, and is as much coveted, whether green or dry, by beaſts of every kind. Having mowed it for ſeveral years, I am well aſſured, it is the beſt fodder that grows, except the blades of *Indian* Corn. The grain is likewiſe as agreeable. *F. Hennepin* lived upon it, and found it "better and more wholeſome than rice," to uſe his words. The grain indeed is but ſlender, as it grows wild, although very long, and ſmooth

of wheat; so that if the people of *England*, who consume 7,500,000 quarters of Corn a year,

smooth like cleaned rice; but there is no such Corn growing wild in any other part of the world, that we have seen or heard of; the best sorts of Corn were but grass, and not to be compared to this, before they were improved by culture. Were this duely cultivated like rice, as it grows in like manner in water, it would be as useful; and we might have rice from our northern, as well as southern colonies. It grows all over *North America*, as far north as *Hudson's* Bay, in the coldest climates of any grain. The natives of *Hudson's* Bay, and Lake *Superior*, have no other Corn.—Besides this, there is a species of *Barley* peculiar to the southern parts of *North America*, where the common Barley will not thrive.——Were that continent explored, it would be found, that we might have both *Corn*, *Wine*, *Oil*, *Wool*, *Silk*, *Hemp*, *Flax*, and many other valuable commodities, all of the native growth of *North America*; and these are the more to be regarded, as no others will thrive in the climate; they are likewise totally different from any thing that *Britain* produces, and might by that means keep the colonies from interfering with their mother country, &c.

This Corn might be as proper for all the low, wet and boggy grounds in *Great Britain*, and *Ireland*, which are so extensive, and produce nothing. And such a Corn might prove as serviceable as potatoes have been, which were in like manner brought from *America*. These common potatoes are the *Papas* of *Peru*, where they grow naturally, and were the only bread Corn that the natives had upon their cold mountains, or have to this day. They likewise grind them to meal, and make a bread of it, called *Chunno*, which is famous in history; with this the *Indians* supplyed the mines of *Potosi*, and grew richer by the trade than the Miners. The *Spaniards* likewise make a great variety of dishes with them, unknown to us, and live upon them like the common people in *Ireland*.—They were first brought to *Europe* by Sir *Francis Drake*, in his return from the expedition to the *Spanish West Indies* in 1586. He then brought the colony

of

year, worth at leaſt eight millions ſterling, were to live on theſe, and the like mentioned below, they would ſave three or four millions a year, which would ſoon reduce the price of proviſions. The price of Wheat is 4 *s.* of

of *Virginia* home with him, and among the reſt the famous mathematician Mr. *Thomas Heriot*, who was ſent thither by Sir *Walter Raleigh* to explore the productions of the country, and brought theſe roots with him; he gave them to *Gerard* the botaniſt, who firſt planted them in *London*, and ſent them to *Cluſius* in *Holland*, who planted them in *Burgundy*, and ſent them to *Italy*; as appears from the works of theſe and ſeveral other authors. It was from this their introduction into *Europe*, that they are ſaid by moſt of our writers to have been natives of *Virginia*, where they will hardly grow, and do not thrive, unleſs they are planted in the following manner. They ſhould be planted in trenches like *Celeri*, and earthed up to the top of the ſtalk in like manner, till they come to be in bloſſom; by that means they ſpread and grow to a great ſize under ground, as I learnt from my late worthy friend *Don Pedro Maldonado*, F. R. S. governor of the province of *Emeraldos*, and a native of *Quito*, who reckoned our potatoes but very indifferent, in compariſon of what they daily eat, and live upon, by this method of culture in *Peru*.

They are cultivated in this manner, in order to prevent the plant from running into ſtalk and ſeed, which robs the root of its nouriſhment. But in *Britain*, the ſeed never ripens, as in *America*, which abundantly ſhews that they are exotics. Upon this account it is not altogether ſo neceſſary here to earth them up as they grow, although it may be as proper.

This method of cultivating potatoes is neceſſary on another account, in order to diveſt them of the rank and poiſonous quality of the *Solanum*, of which they are a ſpecies. This is ſo ſtrong in them, where they grow on the ſurface of the ground expoſed to the ſun in hot climates, that the very hogs will not taſte them; and I have known

of other Grain but 2 *s.* 2 *d.* a buſhel, one with another; and of Oatmeal but 1 *s.* 8 *d.*

This is likewiſe the only way to encourage a large exportation of wheat, and at the ſame time to enjoy a cheaper conſumption of Corn at home. If the people of *England* will eat their wheat, they cannot export it. If they would make the moſt of their Corn, they ſhould export their wheat and malt, and keep their barley (exported) rye and oats, for their own conſumption; but inſtead of that, they eat their wheat, drink their barley, and buy oats to feed the dogs and horſes; of which they keep great

people who could not ſet at table where they were, for this their poiſonous ſcent, of which the hogs are more ſenſible than we are. Even when kept on hard meat on board of ſhip, I have ſeen hogs refuſe theſe potatoes grown in a hot climate. They there grow hard and knotty when expoſed to the ſun, inſtead of ſoft and mealy, and have this rank flavor to ſuch a degree, that many people cannot taſte them. It was for this reaſon, that when they were firſt planted in *Burgundy*, the uſe of them was condemned by law, for occaſioning a ſevere diſtemper, they imagined. But in theſe cold climates, which are more natural to them, or by thus covering them up from the ſun, they are ſo diveſted of this rank and noxious flavor, that we are not ſenſible of it; no more than the hogs whoſe ſcent is ſo acute—But from theſe their qualities, the uſe of potatoes has been chiefly confined to the *Britiſh* iſles, to which they were firſt brought; and here the general uſe that is made of them ſeems to have been owing to an accident in *Ireland*, in the time of the civil wars, when the armies deſtroyed the fields of Corn; but ſome fields of potatoes, we are told, throve very well after they were trampled by them, and ſupplied the want of Corn, as they have done ever ſince.—But theſe are not to be compared to the *Spaniſh potatoes*, as they are called, which are a very different root and plant, and much more delicious and wholeſome.

numbers,

numbers, and at the ſame time conſume great quantities of fleſh meats, eat Wheaten bread, and export Wheat; which are the only cauſes of a dearth and ſcarcity, that need to be apprehended in ſuch a fruitful land as this, or of a dearneſs of labor from the want of proviſions.

Thus if there is any real ſcarcity in *England*, it is owing to extravagance, and not to want. The people eat nothing but the beſt wheaten bread, conſume great quantities of fleſh meats, and at the ſame time keep great numbers of horſes, all which require the very beſt Corn lands, and render Corn as dear again, as it otherwiſe would be. Were it not for this extravagance, the neceſſaries of life and labor might be as cheap again as they are, and much more Corn might at the ſame time be exported.

The quantity and value of the Corn exported, upon an average of 19 years preceding 1765, is as follows, according to the accounts laid before the Parliament, and preſerved in the inеſtimable Tracts on the Corn Trade.

Exported.	Qrs.	Price Qr.
Wheat	357,895	£. 1 11 8
Malt	251,437	1 1 10
Barley	66,741	0 18 3
Rye	49,451	1 1 1
Oatmeal	3,536	0 13 8
Total	729,060	Aver. 1 1 3½

From this it appears, that the exportation of barley, rye and oatmeal, is but of little conſe-

 quence,

quence, and is not to be put in any ſort of competition with our trade and manufactures; theſe ſorts of grain are but inſignificant articles of commerce, although they ſerve as well for conſumption as wheat. The export of wheat and malt amount to 609,000 quarters a year, when we export only 52,000 quarters of rye and oatmeal, which are likewiſe much cheaper. For this reaſon the exportation of theſe laſt might be prohibited altogether, if not of barley likewiſe, and the growing of them encouraged by a bounty on the home conſumption, which is only given for that purpoſe on the exportation. Such a bounty to our *own* people, would be a much greater encouragement to the growing of Corn, and to the agriculture of the kingdom, as well as to its trade and manufactures at the ſame time. It is upon theſe cheaper ſorts of grain, that labourers and workmen live in all parts of the world, except *England*; and for theſe reaſons we would encourage the uſe of them here, not only to reduce the preſent high price of proviſions, but at all times to render the maintenance of labourers and workmen ſo much cheaper.

The chief cauſe of this difference in the price of theſe ſeveral ſorts of grain is, that wheat requires a ſtrong loamy ſoil, and ſuch as has more or leſs of a natural moiſture in it, which is the proper land for graſs; and as graſs grounds are ſo much more valuable in *England* than any others, wheat is by that means much dearer than any other grain, beſides its ſuperior intrinſic

intrinſic worth. It not only requires the beſt land, but occupies the ground for a twelve-month; when barley, oats, and buckwheat, are not above ſix months on the ground, and allow time for ſome other crop in the courſe of the year. At the ſame time moſt lands will yield a third more of theſe ſorts of grain, particularly of barley, than of wheat. Theſe, and rye or ſprat, will grow on poorer lands, and ſuch as are light, dry and ſandy, of which many large tracts in the kingdom lie uncultivated, becauſe the people do not conſume what they would produce, which it is propoſed to encourage by a bounty.

By ſuch a regulation the agriculture of the kingdom might be vaſtly enlarged, and arable lands, which are ſo much wanted, rendered much more plentiful; the poorer lands, which produce little or nothing, might be taken in and cultivated; the ſowing of rye, barley, or buckwheat, would ſave the graſs lands, which theſe ſorts of grain do not require, as wheat does; this would afford a greater plenty of cattle, as well as of corn; and by having a variety of different ſorts of Corn, if one fails, we might have plenty of the other, as often happens; and thereby likewiſe prevent the uproars and tumults which ſo frequently happen, from the leaſt failure in the ſingle crop of wheat.

To ſum up all the advantages of ſuch a bounty on Corn conſumed, of a reduction of the taxes on the neceſſaries of life, and of a tax on horſes, they are the following:

I. Such a regulation would reduce the price of Provifions, as well as of thofe articles of daily conſumption, which render every thing dear, and even the moſt abſolute neceſſaries of life themſelves.

II. It would relieve our Trade and Manufactures, which are otherwiſe likely to be ruined.

III. It would provide for the poor, and leſſen their numbers; and the tax would be ſaved both in the Poors rates and the price of labour.

IV. The conſuming of Rye, Oats, Barley, and Buckwheat among the poor, and among the Labourers and Workmen, would increaſe the export of Wheat, which may otherwiſe be loſt, from this dearth, and the frequent prohibitions of it.

V. Theſe ſorts of Grain would be proper crops for the poor and uncultivated lands, and bring them into culture, which the bounty would encourage.

VI. And an enlargement of Agriculture, by theſe means, would increaſe the number of people, who appear to be only bred in the country, and to decreaſe in the towns, to which they reſort, for want of ſuch employments in Huſbandry.

If by theſe means the poor of the kingdom could be maintained, and the number of people increaſed, the advantage would be much greater than any that has been mentioned. Whether that could be done or not, it appears to be paſt doubt, that there is no way to keep the poor from being a public charge, but to

give

give them lands to cultivate. They are poor for want of the neceſſaries of life, and they can only get theſe from the produce and culture of lands. It is chiefly from the monopoly of the farms by thoſe of better circumſtances, who endeavour to ſave the expence of tillage, and thereby deprive the poor of their labour, that they come to be ſo numerous. Therefore, if they were to be provided with farms proportioned to their circumſtances, or to cultivate the commons and waſte lands, it would undoubtedly very much reduce their numbers. The commons in *England* ſeem to be ſet apart for that purpoſe, and as they are now incloſed, if the poor were to be ſet about the cultivation of them, they might no doubt get a living by it, and free the public from a great part of that heavy charge. Upon theſe they might raiſe Peas, Beans, Buckwheat, Potatoes, feed ſwine *, &c. and thereby both maintain themſelves, and help to ſupply the markets; which would very much reduce the price of Proviſions. The poor of *England* are reckoned to be an eighth part of the people, or 700,000, who do nothing but eat at the public expence, conſume the

* The proper food for hogs, and what they are fondeſt of, are *Jeruſalem Artichokes*; which may be planted by the pooreſt, as *Potatoes* are, and upon the meaneſt lands, which might be much improved and brought into culture by them. Plant a piece of ground with theſe, as you do Potatoes, either in Spring or Autumn, and the next Autumn or Winter turn hogs upon it, they will till it much better than a plough, or a fallowing, by which it will bear any ſort of Corn. I never knew the experiment tried but once, but it was with very great ſucceſs. A piece of poor ſandy land, that

the Proviſions which they have no hand in making, and thereby very much increaſe their price. But if they were to be ſet about the cultivation of lands, inſtead of Manufactures in Workhouſes, they might ſoon lower the price of Proviſions, and bring the poor and waſte lands into culture and tillage; to which the propoſed bounty on their produce would be a very great encouragement: And if the numbers of poor, with their increaſe, were to be employed in this manner, they might ſoon cultivate all the waſte lands in the kingdom.

Such an enlargement of the Agriculture of the nation, whether it is done by the poor, or by the encouragement of a bounty, would, moreover, make laſting improvements, and ſhew our enemies, how much they are miſtaken concerning our reſources. They imagine, the improvements of the lands, the chief ſupport of all nations, are carried to the greateſt height they are capable of in this kingdom; whereas ours, ſay they, are but beginning,

that would hardly bear any thing, was planted with theſe roots, and the hogs being put upon it, they turned it up to the very bottom, and made it like a *hog-ſtye*; by that means it bore good tobacco, which requires the richeſt land of any thing that grows, and better than any ſort of Corn. If ſuch a practice could be brought into uſe, like the ſowing of Turneps for Sheep, it might be as great an improvement, as that is well known to have been, if not a greater, as hogs both manure and till the ground. By that means you might increaſe your ſtock both of Hogs and Corn, which would render all other Proviſions cheap; and theſe roots would maintain the poor as well as Potatoes, which might anſwer the ſame purpoſe.

ning, and will ſoon give us a ſuperiority over them *. But the improvements of this kingdom are ſo far from being exhauſted, that they are hardly yet begun; they are as few as wheat and graſs are to the other products of the earth, or as the produce of uncultivated lands is, to what they would yield by culture. Were all the lands in *Great Britain* and *Ireland* duely cultivated, they would maintain as many people as the greateſt part of *France*; which we may conclude from the Corn and graſs they produce †. And if this nation were to exert itſelf in agriculture, both at home and abroad, as well as in trade and navigation, and to give but a very ſmall moiety of that encouragement

* *Vid. le Progres de Commerce.* View of *England*, &c.

† Trees are known by their fruit, and land by the Corn and Graſs it produces, which are the fruits of the earth; and in which no part of the world that we have ſeen exceeds *England* and *Ireland*. Both the ſtrong and loamy ſoil, and moiſt climate, equally contribute to produce the greateſt plenty of theſe neceſſaries of life, which are the ſupport both of man and beaſt, and on which all others depend. This is likewiſe the ſoil that is more peculiarly adapted to Wheat, the Trade in which the *French* for that reaſon will find themſelves very much miſtaken in their expectations of getting from *England*. There is but one *Pays de Beauce* in all *France*, but there are many ſuch in *England*. Even the poorer and ſandy lands in *England* frequently have a loamy ſand at bottom, and as good as what we have ſeen called a clayie foundation in other countries. To let ſuch lands, therefore, lie uncultivated, and to complain of a dearth and ſcarcity in ſuch a fruitful land as this, muſt be owing to ſome miſmanagement or other, which we have endeavoured to point out, and is a ſhame to the people.

to the one, which ſhe lays out upon the other; ſhe might make the arts of peace as great a terror to her enemies as the late war; and defend herſelf from daily inſults by theſe, as well as by her fleets, which the income from her lands would ſupport. You may ſee by their *View of England*, that they dread the Corn Trade alone, more than all the other reſources of this nation; and that is certainly not carried to half the extent it is capable of, or that might be expected from an additional bounty. It is well known, how much the bounty on the exportation of Corn has improved the agriculture of this kingdom, but the propoſed bounty on the home conſumption would exceed that as ſixteen to one, as we ſhall hereafter ſhew.

Now if all theſe advantages may be obtained from a tax on dogs and horſes, which would, moreover, be a ſignal benefit in itſelf, it certainly ought not to be delayed. Such a tax indeed appears to be abſolutely neceſſary, not only to anſwer all theſe purpoſes, to reduce the price of proviſions, and thereby to ſave the trade and manufactures of the kingdom, but likewiſe to preſerve the Corn Trade and agriculture of the nation; which they are moſt intereſted in, who will be moſt affected by this tax; and it will therefore be for their benefit, who will have the only reaſon to complain of it, meaning the farmers and country gentlemen who keep ſuch numbers of horſes, and who are perhaps only entitled to ſuch a ruinous privilege. We are told,

told, that there have not been leſs than ſix prohibitions laid on the exportation of Corn within theſe nine years, ſince horſes have become ſo numerous; whereas before that, when there was not half the number in the kingdom, we had but three ſuch prohibitions in ſixty-eight years *, ſince the bounty was firſt granted. If this is duely conſidered, there cannot be a better argument given, nor a greater neceſſity ſhewed, for a tax on horſes. From this it appears, that *horſes are a prohibition of the exportation of Corn*, the chief ſtaple of the land, on which the proſperity and welfare of the nation ſo much depends; in which the landed intereſt is ſo much concerned; and without which the farmers think they could not live, nor pay their rents. They all complain loudly of theſe prohibitions, which they themſelves occaſion, by keeping ſuch a number of horſes; for however they may find their intereſt in ſuch a mal-practice, and think they may convert their lands to any uſe they pleaſe, the people will and muſt have bread before their beaſts.—If they may think themſelves aggrieved, by

* See the Tracts on the Corn Trade.——Theſe three prohibitions were in 1698, when the Corn Trade was hardly eſtabliſhed, and in 1709 and 1740, after the two hard winters.——As for the prohibitions ſince the year 1756, it is well known there have been ſeveral, when there were no ſuch cauſes for them; although we have not had time to examine the exact number, and muſt take that upon truſt; but one of the four mentioned by our more accurate author, here quoted, was in 1757, within the nine years here mentioned.

being obliged to plow their graſs grounds, which they have raiſed to ſuch an extravagant price by means of horſes, and thereby pervert the uſe for which the earth was made; or if they are obliged to parcel out their large farms, and to let the people have the uſe of the lands which nature itſelf intitles them to in their *own land*, on which they were bred and born; if theſe may be a loſs to any, we ſay, it is propoſed to give them a bounty for it; and ſuch a one as may redound as much to their intereſt, as to the benefit of the whole nation.

Whatever tax may be laid upon horſes for theſe uſes, it ſhould be ſufficient to reduce their numbers, to lower the price of Corn and proviſions by a bounty upon them, and to defray that charge which they create. For theſe purpoſes many would have a tax of five pounds a head laid upon horſes; but ſuppoſe it were only twenty ſhillings upon horſes kept for pleaſure, and ten ſhillings upon draught horſes, with five ſhillings a head on dogs, theſe would be ſufficient to anſwer the chief purpoſes propoſed; if it be not to reduce the number of horſes, which thoſe who keep them would hardly part with for ſuch a fine; for that reaſon, it will be neceſſary to make this tax higher: And in order to lower the price of proviſions, which ſuch a number of horſes render ſo immoderate, it will be as neceſſary to give a bounty on theſe, as to lay a tax upon the others; and to relieve this dearth of proviſions by the cauſes of it, by making the tax on horſes pay this bounty on the neceſſaries of life.

What

What ſuch a tax might bring in, can only be determined from the number of horſes, which is very uncertain. Suppoſe their number is 500,000, or one for every twelve perſons in the kingdom, and that one half of theſe are kept for pleaſure; twenty ſhillings on theſe, and ten upon the reſt, would clear 375,000 *l.* The number of dogs again cannot be leſs than one for every houſe, or a million in all, which conſume a great part of the bread of the poor; a tax of five ſhillings a head on theſe would fetch 250,000 *l.* and the two amount to 625,000 *l. per annum*, which is nigh five times the bounty on the Corn exported *, and might very well be increaſed to 800,000 *l.*, if not more, according to the following accounts.

With this it is propoſed to lay a bounty of 3*s.* a quarter on *rye* or *ſprat*; 2*s.* 6*d.* on *barley*; 2*s.* on *oats*; and 1*s.* 8*d.* on *buckwheat*; or any other like bounty that may be thought proper. The particular manner of collecting ſuch a bounty, as well as the payment of it, are ſubmitted to better judges. But as it is propoſed to be given only on what is conſumed in food, or ground to meal, it is preſumed, the quantity might be eaſily aſcertained at the mills; and as theſe ſorts of meal are only uſed by the poor, or by the Labourers and Workmen, for whoſe uſe the bounty is intended, it would be ſubject to fewer frauds from the claim of others.

* The bounty on the Corn exported, on an average of the laſt 19 years, is 138,342 l. *per annum*, and but 89,102 l. ſince it firſt commenced.

The

The remainder of this tax is propoſed as a ſubſtitute for the taxes on theſe or other *articles of daily conſumption*, as the late additional tax on *beer*, *candles*, *ſoap*, *ſalt*, *leather*, and *coals*, which are uſed by all, and by the very poor. It is theſe taxes on the neceſſaries of life, that render them ſo dear; and if we would afford any real relief in the preſent general complaint of a dearth of every thing, we ſhould at leaſt take off theſe taxes on labour and articles of general conſumption, which render every thing dear that the country produces; and have always been juſtly complained of, and much more in theſe times of dearth. And there can be no more ſeaſonable nor proper time to obtain theſe great and deſired ends, by a tax on horſes, than when every one feels the bad effects of what they deſtroy and conſume.

If any may think theſe taxes too high, the only alternative ſeems to be, to oblige them to part with their horſes altogether, and to ſend them out of the country, as they were lately obliged to do in *Bermudas*, rather than to ſtarve the people, and to ruin the Trade and Manufactures of the kingdom. Theſe muſt be the unavoidable conſequences of the preſent dearth, if it continues, which there appears to be no effectual way to prevent, ſo as ever to bring Proviſions to a moderate price in this kingdom, where every thing is ſo dear, unleſs you reduce the number of horſes, for which the tax upon them

them is intended; and which would by that means rid great numbers of a needleſs expence, and perhaps prevent their ruin, as well as that of the nation. It is only to vye with one another in ſhew and expence, that every one muſt keep coaches and horſes, whether they can afford it, or not; and as ſumptuary laws are highly wanted in this kingdom on many accounts, let them be begun with horſes, which are the moſt expenſive of all, and affect the ſubſiſtence, we may ſay, the very exiſtence of the people.

It is true, a ſolid and ſubſtantial expence of the produce of a country, by thoſe who can afford it, is rather an advantage than a detriment to a nation; but that advantage ariſes from the maintaining of ſo many people, and not of horſes; from the feeding of the poor by their labour, and not from the ſtarving and expulſion of the people by beaſts. This is an expence, which is ſo far from employing the people, that it totally obſtructs it, and deprives them of their livelihood. Horſes not only render the neceſſaries of life ſo dear, that the poor cannot purchaſe them, nor can others afford to employ them, but they obſtruct the Agriculture or Tillage of the kingdom, and thereby hinder the breeding and employing of more people, than all other occupations put together will maintain, while no others can thrive without this; hence this expence in horſes is the greateſt loſs that this nation, which wants nothing ſo much as people, can well ſuſtain. To

ſave

ſave the expence of horſes to their owners, they are kept on Graſs, but that renders them much more expenſive, and perfectly ruinous, to the nation; the Graſs grounds of *England* are more than half the country, ſmall as it is, and half the people are thereby deprived of a ſubſiſtence by Agriculture, without which no nation will ever thrive or proſper. The maintaining of horſes in that manner is a certain expulſion of the people, as it deprives them of their labour, and affords them no ſubſiſtence. It appears from what we ſhall ſhew in the Appendix, that this nation has not land enough to maintain as many people as it wants, and much leſs ſuch a number of horſes with them; they therefore ought to be extirpated, that we may have people in place of them, eſpecially when their uſes may be ſo eaſily diſpenſed with.

The uſe of horſes is in the firſt place for races, which might certainly be diſpenſed with, to ſave the Trade and Manufactures of the kingdom, and to keep the poor from ſtarving. Now, as theſe are the moſt uſeleſs, but the moſt expenſive of any, we can ſee no harm in ſaving the bread of the poor, which they conſume, by aboliſhing this cuſtom of racing, with the Bear-gardens, which are both ſo peculiar to the *Engliſh* nation *. Coach and Saddle-horſes are

* The public encouragement given to races ſeems to render the number of horſes much greater than is needful, and to make every one fond of keeping them, rather for ſport and diverſion, than for any utility, public or private. This

are indeed more uſeful upon occaſions; but as theſe are kept more for pleaſure than for profit, they who can afford to keep them, may afford to pay the propoſed tax upon them; and we

This cuſtom, and the public encouragement given to it, ſeem to have been introduced, or at leaſt to have ſo much prevailed, from the want of horſes in the kingdom, at the time of the *Spaniſh* Invaſion; but if any ſuch encouragement or inducement to the breeding of horſes was then wanted, it has had its *full* effect, and ſeems to be as improper now, as it might then have been wanted. This is one of the great expences of the *Engliſh* nation, both at home and abroad, and if they would abridge their expences, which the circumſtances of the nation ſo much require, this is the firſt that might well be diſpenſed with.

If it is alledged, that this may hurt the breed, cannot an encouragement be given to the breeding of horſes for uſe and profit, rather than for a mere expence and certain loſs? The uſe that is made of this breed is, to export great numbers of them, and thereby to ruin ourſelves at home, in order to ſupply our enemies with *Engliſh* horſes; which are in great requeſt among them, ſince our cavalry gained ſuch reputation in the late wars, and for that reaſon ſuch numbers have ever ſince been bred for this *national uſe*. But formerly, in the greateſt proſperity of this nation, horſes were imported from *Flanders*; and an ox, which will now ſell from twelve to twenty pounds, was not then worth above four or five, notwithſtanding there was then more money in the kingdom than there is at preſent. It is ſhewn by *Dr. Davenant*, that at the time of the Revolution, there were eighteen millions and an half of coin in *England*; but now it is reckoned to be reduced to one half. It is therefore a mere vulgar error, to attribute the dearneſs of every thing in the kingdom to the plenty of money. The dearneſs of every thing elſe proceeds from the high price of Proviſions, which is chiefly occaſioned by the number of horſes.

doubt not, but they would be very willing to be of ſuch a ſignal ſervice to their country; to ſhew their regard for the Trade and Manufactures of the nation, on which its very being depends; and to extend their humanity and charity to the poor, by maintaining the greateſt part of them, as well as the Tradeſmen and Workmen who ſupply them with neceſſaries, only for forty ſhillings a year. They would ſoon ſave five times that ſum in the price of labour, and the Poors rates.

The moſt neceſſary horſes are ſuch as are uſed in Carts and Waggons, and if theſe could be freed from the tax, without including twice or thrice as many more, it might be very proper.

As for Plough-horſes, which many ſeem to think ſo neceſſary, they ſhould rather be prohibited. The dearth of Proviſions ſeems to be owing to the uſe of theſe among the Farmers, more than to any other cauſe. They are at ſuch an expence in breeding and keeping ſuch fine horſes as you may ſee in their teams, that it is impoſſible they ſhould raiſe a ſtock of cattle with them; and as they are only bred for ſale, they are afraid to ſpoil them with plowing. Were they to be at ſuch an expence in horſes, merely for the plough, they would ſoon leave them off for oxen*; and thereby ſupply the markets with Pro-

* It has been found by the experience of all who have ever tried, that oxen are much cheaper, and more ſerviceable, either in a plough or cart, than horſes. But by the pre-

Proviſions, which the others conſume. It is from this cuſtom of breeding horſes by Ploughmen, that the beſt part of the lands in *England* lies in graſs, and the greateſt part of the reſt is uncultivated. If any of the Farmers may be

prepoſterous method of yoking them uſed in *England*, with a chain between two, they only draw with one ſide, and cannot exert above half their ſtrength, while they conſtantly baulk one another; although even in this manner their draught is much more ſteady than that of horſes —But the right way is to put them in harneſs like a horſe, either with a collar and hems about the neck and ſhoulders, on which the whole weight of their body falls, as well as their muſcular ſtrength; or the traces ſhould be faſtened to a board hung over their horns, and upon their forehead, on which they exert the force of their neck, in which the ſtrength of an ox lies, as that of a horſe does in his heels. The one ſeems to be made for running, and the other for drawing by the neck and horns. But we ſhould think, that both theſe ways of harneſſing oxen ſhould be joined together; or a pair of traces ſhould be ſet on about their neck and ſhoulders, and another from theſe to their horns or forehead, on which they might exert both the weight of their body, and ſtrength of their neck at the ſame time, and relieve the one by exerting the other. The laſt way of yoking them by the horns, as it is called, is practiſed with good ſucceſs in moſt parts of *Europe*; and the firſt method of harneſſing them, like a horſe, has been long practiſed by a Gentleman of great knowledge and experience, who has made very great improvements by it.—By that means you may *trench* the ground three feet deep, as they do in gardens, and thereby have a new mould in every ploughing; which, if you would do in the deep loamy ſoil of *England*, it would yield Corn in the greateſt plenty.—If the roots of Corn or Graſs, or even of an Onion, or little *Ranunculus*, have a good depth of mould, they will penetrate two and three feet deep; it is for this reaſon, that we are at ſuch pains to trench the ground for Flowers, but neglect it for Corn.

aggrieved by a tax on horſes, they would be abundantly repaid by the additional bounty on Corn, and by ſaving the preſent bounty on Wheat.

From the propoſed bounty on Corn conſumed at home, paid by this tax on horſes, there will be leſs occaſion for reducing the bounty on the exportation of Wheat, which will otherwiſe ſoon become neceſſary, if it is not already; or at leaſt will ſoon be deemed proper, and clamoured for by the people, for the reaſons given above *. If a bounty on Corn is not given to our own Workmen and Manufacturers, as well as to Foreigners, it ſeems to be neceſſary, in ſuch a general dearth of every thing, to reduce the bounty on exportation; which, if it may be an encouragement to the growing of Corn, is certainly a tax upon the home conſumption. If this may be a diſcouragement to Agriculture, there ſeems to be no alternative, but to allow a like bounty to our *own* Workmen and Poor. If the Corn and Proviſions of this kingdom are exported, when they are either ſo ſcarce, or ſo dear, that the people cannot afford to carry on their Trades and Manufactures with them, they will be unable to purchaſe them at any rate; the Landowners and Farmers will loſe the vent of their commodities, by endeavouring to ſecure a good price for them; and the nation will run a

* Note, p. 64.

riſque

riſque of loſing nine or ten millions a year, in Trade and Manufactures, by endeavouring to gain 650,000 *l.* by Corn, as we have ſhewn above. It is therefore abſolutely neceſſary, either to reduce the bounty on the exportation of Corn, or to allow a like bounty on the home conſumption, as we have ſo often ſhewn. Unleſs ſome ſuch expedient is thought of, this ruinous dearth will be ſo far from ceaſing, that it is daily increaſing, as we may ſee from what has happened for many years paſt; all the cauſes of it daily grow more prevalent, and increaſe one another; the decline of Trade obſtructs Agriculture, and the decay of this ruins Trade, till the nation will be unable to ſupport either.

It ought to be ſeriouſly conſidered, and attended to, what we have ſo often inculcated, that ſo long as this dearth of every thing continues, as it is likely to do, the very reſources of this nation may be cut off, both in its Trade and Manufactures; we may purchaſe foreign commodities by Trade, in order to ſupport the reigning luxury, but cannot expect, that they will take ours at ſuch prices, to pay for them. The balance of Trade, which is already ſuſpected to be againſt *Britain*, will then be ſuch a drain, that the nation may ſoon have no money left. This there appears to be no way to prevent, but to reduce the immoderate price of all the neceſſaries of life by ſome means or other. If that cannot be done by ſome other expedient,

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it will ſoon occaſion a general outcry for a repeal of the bounty on Corn exported, if not of the exportation with it, as it ſeems already to have done; and theſe may indeed become neceſſary, unleſs the nation is ſecured againſt the ruinous ſtate, with which it ſeems to be threatened. Notwithſtanding any advantages that have been, or may be, received from the exportation of Corn, the only uſe of it is, to maintain the people of the land, and not their rivals or enemies; the exportation is only allowed for that purpoſe, in order to ſupply ourſelves better and cheaper by means of it; but if it once comes to be ſo dear, that it interferes with the home conſumption, and with Trade and Manufactures, it ſhould be prohibited. The exportation is only allowed to encourage the Farmers to grow Corn, and to render it cheap; which if it does not do, ſome other regulation ſhould be made for that purpoſe. In doing this, equal care ſhould be taken not to diſcourage the Farmers to grow Corn, nor to hurt the people by the price. Now to obtain both theſe ends, if the bounty on the exportation of wheat is reduced from five to four ſhillings a quarter, and the exportation price from forty-eight to forty ſhillings, for the reaſons above-mentioned; * that ſhilling deducted from the bounty on the exportation, ſhould be given as a bounty on the home conſumption, either of that or any other grain, which may be more profitable for the

* *Ibidem.*

farmers

farmers to grow, and for the nation to conſume. —It ſhould always be conſidered, that it is only the exportation of wheat and malt that are of any great ſervice to this nation; the exportation therefore of other ſorts of grain ſhould be prohibited, in order to ſupply the home conſumption with them, and to increaſe the exportation of wheat and malt, which is ſo much more conſiderable and more valuable. Such a prohibition of barley, rye and oatmeal may at leaſt be proper, till the nation is ſupplied with a ſufficient quantity of them for a general conſumption at home, which it is not at preſent.

Now if this is done, if the bounty on wheat is reduced from five to four ſhillings, and the exportation of rye, barley and oatmeal, is prohibited, it will make a ſaving of 35,774 *l.* a year, in the bounty now paid on exportation; which may be added to the tax on dogs and horſes, and given for a bounty on the home conſumption of Corn; either to the grower, or to the conſumer, whichever may be thought moſt expedient. Whether the one or the other receives it, they will both reap the benefit of it.

From this ſtate of the whole, the propoſed tax and bounty may be ſtated and accounted for in ſome ſuch manner as the following, according to the rate that may be deemed moſt proper; and that from the known quantities of Corn conſumed for food in *England*, which have been carefully computed by our praiſed author on the Corn Trade, as they are here ſtated, leaving out the odd numbers.

To

To ſtate this tax and bounty at the loweſt rate, it ſeems to be the following.

Dr. Bounty on Corn conſumed.

	Qrs.		£.
Rye	1,000,000	at 2 s. 6 d.	125,000
Barley	1,000,000	2 s.	100,000
Oats	1,700,000	1 s. 8 d.	141,666
Total	3,700,000		366,666

Per Contra Cr.

Tax on	250,000 coach and ſaddle horſes at 1 l.	250,000
	250,000 draught horſes at 10 s.	125,000
	1,000,000 dogs at 5 s.	250,000
		625,000
	Bounty on Corn deduct	366,666
Remains for taxes on neceſſary articles		258,334

But as this tax on horſes would not be ſufficient to reduce their numbers, for which it is moſt wanted and intended, it ſhould be raiſed at leaſt to forty ſhillings a head on horſes kept for pleaſure; unleſs ſome higher tax may be deemed neceſſary for that purpoſe, as it ſeems to be: and that would afford a greater bounty on Corn, if requiſite; which we cannot think it will be, as the bounty here propoſed is equal to that on exportation, and is 15 *per cent.* on the value *.

At

* The bounty on rye exported is three ſhillings and ſixpence a quarter; barley two ſhillings and ſixpence; oatmeal

At this rate the tax and bounty will ſtand as follows.

Dr. Bounty on Corn conſumed.

	Qrs.		£.
Rye	1,000,000	at 3 s.	150,000
Barley	1,000,000	2 s. 6 d.	125,000
Oats	1,700,000	2 s	170,000
Total	3,700,000		445,000

Per Contra Cr.

		£.
Tax on	250,000 coach and ſaddle horſes at 2 l.	500,000
	250,000 draught horſes at 10 s.	125,000
	1,000,000 dogs at 5 s.	250,000
		875,000
	Bounty on Corn deduct	445,000
		430,000
Saving of Bounty on Corn exported		35,000
Total for taxes on neceſſary articles		465,000

But

meal two ſhillings and ſixpence: and as two quarters of oats make but one of oatmeal, the bounty of two ſhillings on the Corn would be four ſhillings a quarter on the meal, which is a very high bounty, and nigh equal to that on wheat, which is but five ſhillings a quarter. To make oatmeal equal to barley, the bounty on it ſhould be but two ſhillings and ſixpence a quarter, and one ſhilling and three pence on oats; but this bounty is allowed on oatmeal, as it ſeems to be the food moſt generally uſed and coveted by workmen, where they cannot afford to pay for wheat; although barley is rather cheaper, and might be more encouraged by giving a leſs bounty on oatmeal. A

But as plough horſes appear to be highly prejudicial, they ſhould be taxed as high as thoſe kept for pleaſure, if not higher, after the farmers have had time allowed to provide oxen, which might be in three or four years; now if we ſuppoſe there are 100,000 of theſe, at 40*s.* a head, they would raiſe the tax 150,000 *l.*; which would ſerve for other purpoſes, beſides thoſe propoſed, as it would allow a ſaving of 615,000 *l. per annum*, after paying a bounty on half the Corn conſumed in the kingdom.

How far this would anſwer the other end propoſed in taking off the taxes on the *neceſſary articles of daily conſumption*, as well as in allowing a bounty on Corn, will appear from the following accounts of them. The ſums here mentioned, as far as we can diſtinguiſh them in the accounts of the revenue, from the other articles with which they are blended, ſeem to exceed the duties on the neceſſary and daily conſumption; and are more than twice or thrice

bounty on ſprat ſhould be equal to that on rye, as they are both winter grains, and occupy the ground for the year; but barley and oats only for half a year. But although that will probably be ſown, when it comes to be known, we have made no allowance for it, as it is not conſumed, no more than buckwheat; which if they come to be uſed, would only lower the conſumption of the others, on which a bounty is here accounted for; that is, for the whole conſumption of the nation for all ſorts of Corn, except wheat; which is ſufficiently encouraged by the bounty on exportation, and ſhould be kept for that purpoſe.

as much as the taxes on what is conſumed by the labourers, tradeſmen, and poor, who are chiefly to be regarded.

	£.
Duty on Salt	160,000
Candles	140,000
Soap	40,000
Leather	90,000
Coals	60,000
Beer, ſuppoſe	50,000
	540,000
Saving of tax on dogs and horſes	615,000
Remains for the intereſt of the unfunded Debts, or other uſes	75,000

This is upon a ſuppoſition, that the plough horſes would be 100,000; but as their number, it is hoped, would be reduced by the tax, ſo the number of horſes may be many more than we have computed them, and are daily increaſing, as they are likely to do, notwithſtanding ſuch a tax; many reckon there are not leſs than a million in the kingdom, a tax on which would raiſe a million and a half a year, exempting thoſe which are neceſſary. Now if that or any ſuch thing could be done, of what ſervice might it not be to this nation, both in paying the intereſt on the unfunded and other public debts, and in lowering the duties and impoſitions on trade, as well as the neceſſaries of life.

In a trading nation like this, nothing whatever ſhould be taxed but *lands*, *houſes*, *articles*

of luxury, or perſonal and *actual property*, when that becomes neceſſary. To lay duties on trade, or taxes on the neceſſaries of life, which ſo much affect it, particularly the moſt profitable branches of trade, the *manufactures* of the kingdom, is to tax your property before you get it, which is the way never to have it. To ſee taxes laid on ſuch neceſſary articles of life as thoſe here mentioned, when ſuch prejudicial articles of pleaſure as horſes go free, is a reproach to any trading nation, and may be the ruin of this. By theſe means it is to be ſuſpected, that this nation, whoſe very being depends upon trade, may be a loſer by it; and that the vaſt balance which is againſt *Britain* in moſt parts of the world, with 1,300,000 *l.* a year conſtantly going out of it for nothing, may drain the nation of all the treaſure it has.

To obtain ſo many and ſignal advantages, if it were only to take off theſe taxes on the neceſſary articles of daily conſumption, which are uſed by every one, and are neceſſary even for the pooreſt; which raiſe the price of labor, enhance the value of all its produce, render our manufactures ſo dear that we cannot vend them, and occaſion a dearth even of the moſt abſolute neceſſaries of life, as well as of every thing in the kingdom; to be relieved from ſuch a heavy and daily burden, we ſay, to preſerve the trade and manufactures of the kingdom, to ſave the nation from ruin by that means, and

to

to keep thouſands from ſtarving, who would ſcruple to pay a tax on their dogs and horſes?

The other and principal end propoſed by this tax and bounty was, to relieve the diſtreſſes of the poor, and to ſupply the labourers, tradeſmen, and manufacturers, at a cheaper rate; and how far they may anſwer this end alſo, will appear from this account of the quantity of Corn, which

The people of *England* annually conſume in food, viz.

	Qrs.
Wheat	3,750,000
Rye	1,000,000
Barley	1,000,000
Oats	1,700,000
Total (which is 10 buſhels a head *per annum*)	7,450,000
One half	3,725,000
Paid a bounty on	3,700,000

Thus the tax propoſed would pay a bounty on half the Corn conſumed in the kingdom; and as that bounty is 2 *s.* 6 *d.* on a quarter of Corn, take one ſort with another, which is worth 17*s.* 8*d.*, it is a ſeventh part of the value, or 15 *per cent.*; conſequently, this bounty would maintain half the people in the kingdom for nigh two months in the year on free coſt; and would ſupply all the Labourers, Workmen, and Manufacturers, with bread, for three or four months in the year for nothing; which would very much reduce the price of their labor, and

of

of every thing they make, while they themſelves might get a better living by them.

Moreover, one half of the Corn conſumed in the kingdom is ſixteen times as much as is exported, the export being but a thirty-ſecondth part of the conſumption *; therefore, this bounty on the home conſumption would exceed that on exportation, as ſixteen to one; it would be a much greater advantage to the landed intereſt, and to the Farmers, as well as to the trading and manufacturing intereſt of the kingdom, which the other bounty on exportation diſcourages; it would encourage and promote Agriculture, by which ſuch a number of people are both bred and maintained; by which the reſt are ſupplied with the neceſſaries of life, and the nation is chiefly ſupported. Now to obtain theſe advantages, beſides all the others abovementioned, and to be of this ſignal ſervice to their country, who would ſcruple to pay forty or fifty ſhillings a year for their dogs and horſes? Every one who wiſh well to their country, or even conſult their own intereſt, would deſire and petition for ſuch a tax, in order to be relieved from thoſe grievous and ruinous taxes, which they are obliged to pay on every morſel of bread they put in their mouths, and every thing elſe they uſe; which coſt them twice or thrice as much as the taxes amount to, heavy as they are; this they may ſee, among many other

* See the Tracts on the Corn Trade, p. 144.

inſtances,

inſtances, by the late additional tax on beer; which has been highly complained of, not only on that account, but as that is the only drink of our Labourers and Workmen, and ſeems to be ſo neceſſary for them in this climate, that they cannot perform their labour without it.

They who can afford to keep dogs and horſes, may well afford to pay forty or fifty ſhillings a year for ſuch purpoſes as theſe; when great numbers are unable to live by paying ſuch heavy taxes, and high prices, for every thing which they, or their children, put in their mouths, and are daily obliged to uſe.—As dogs and horſes raiſe the price of Proviſions to ſuch an heighth, the frugal and induſtrious Tradeſman is by that means obliged to pay for the extravagancies of the Fox-hunters, Racers, and others; and the very poor, and even the beggars, pay for the coaches of the richeſt, in every morſel of bread they eat; which they might much better afford to do, were it in any thing elſe. To make dogs and horſes, therefore, relieve theſe burdens on the poor, is only to put the ſaddle on the right horſe. They who keep them ſhould conſider, that it is the poor who maintain the rich, and make their fortunes.—A few idle Gentlemen, who do nothing but live on the reſt, and keep dogs and horſes, are hardly to be conſidered in a ſtate, otherwiſe both they and their country will ſoon come to be of very little conſideration.—For want of employment and bread, and from the exceſſive

dearneſs

dearneſs of every thing, the poor are obliged to deſert the country; after which the Gentlemen muſt provide for their dogs and horſes themſelves.—This nation loſes ſo many people in its many large towns at home, which increaſe ſo faſt; in its foreign Trade, and many Plantations abroad, which have been lately extended in climates that ſeem to be calculated to deſtroy its people; that it will ſoon, in the way it goes on, have no people left, unleſs the poor are provided for, and can find a ſubſiſtence, at a cheaper rate.—This ſeems already to have happened in *Ireland*, and will ſoon be the caſe in *England*. — The enormous expences of this nation, in foreign articles, extirpate the poor, and are very ill ſuited to its circumſtances.—It might be eaſy to mention only a few, among many, beſides dogs and horſes, which coſt at leaſt four or five millions a year, as much as all the public debts amount to.

Upon the whole, as this tax would afford a bounty on one half of the Corn conſumed in the kingdom, and conſequently for all the Labourers, Tradeſmen, Manufacturers, and Poor, who would at the ſame time be relieved from thoſe ruinous taxes on the articles of daily conſumption, which, with the high price of Proviſions that is daily riſing, threaten the total ruin of this nation; ſuch a general and public benefit, which has been ſo long wanted, and ſo much deſired, muſt be looked upon as an advantage infinitely greater, than any inconvenience

venience that may ariſe from a tax on dogs and horſes; eſpecially as that tax would be the greateſt benefit in itſelf, were it not appropriated to theſe ſignal ſervices; and is only a tax on the unneceſſary articles of luxury, intended to defray a public and neceſſary charge, which they create. This would ſtill be of much greater ſervice, not only to the public in general, but to every individual in the kingdom, as it appears to be the only probable, if not poſſible, method of reducing the preſent, and preventing the future much higher price of Proviſions; which is ſo loudly complained of by all, and ſeverely felt by many. Such a tax and bounty would, in a word, relieve the diſtreſſes of thouſands, give bread to the poor, and plenty to the rich; would increaſe the numbers of people in the nation, enlarge the Agriculture of the kingdom, and ſave its Trade from declining, its Manufactures from decaying, and the nation from ruin.

And there can be no more proper nor ſeaſonable time, if ever ſuch another opportunity may offer, to do theſe ſignal ſervices for the nation, than when all feel the bad effects of the want of them, and may be ſatisfied of their condition by ſuch a ſenſible conviction. It has been ſuſpected, that this nation never ſees any thing, but when ſhe feels it; ſo that, if this opportunity is ſuffered to ſlip, we may forget and neglect the ſituation we are in, till it is paſt re-

trieving; and may cry out *again*, when we are unable to help ourſelves. If any branch of Trade, the Corn Trade, or any other, is once loſt, it is not ſo eaſily recovered again. Trade once loſt is like a rapid river, which takes another courſe, and is not to be brought back to its former channel. But by theſe frequent prohibitions of the Corn Trade, the nation loſes its cuſtomers; and by ſuch a high price for Manufactures, it will have none.

By what other methods theſe great and deſired ends are to be obtained, we know not. If any may be more fortunate in finding out a remedy for ſuch dangerous and growing evils, let them declare their ſentiments, with freedom and candour, as we have done, for the benefit of their country, and welfare of mankind. To neglect a matter of ſuch importance, is to abandon the nation in its greateſt exigencies; and to flatter our hopes with nothing but temporary expedients, is to diſappoint it.

PART

PART II.

FROM the foregoing diſcourſe it appears, that Agriculture is of the greateſt conſequence to this nation, in ſupplying it with people, of which it ſtands in ſo great need, as well as in maintaining them; that the people of *England* are only bred in the country, and not in the cities or large towns; that by reſorting to the towns, and deſerting the country, as they have done of late, they appear to decreaſe in numbers; and that by theſe means we have not Huſbandmen ſufficient to ſupply the kingdom with Proviſions, at a moderate and reaſonable rate, which is a great cauſe of their dearth: And it has been ſaid, that this nation has not a ſufficient number of people, for its many other extenſive concerns both at home and abroad; that the iſland of *Great Britain* hardly contains land enough to maintain a ſufficient number of people for theſe purpoſes; and that there is no way either to prevent this loſs or decreaſe of people, or to recruit the want of numbers, but by an enlargement and improvement of Agriculture. Theſe are matters of the utmoſt conſequence, on which the very being of this nation may depend; and which therefore would require a more particular conſideration, and diſcuſſion, had we time or room for them here:

here: But as ſuch very important and intereſting concerns ought not to be neglected, we cannot but add ſome farther thoughts on that ſubject, which was foreign to our chief deſign, however it appears to concern the nation, and to merit attention, as much as any other part of it; and to be the great argument, although generally unknown, which ſhews a much greater neceſſity for extending the Agriculture of the nation, and relieving the general dearth of every thing, than ſeems to be apprehended.

To determine theſe points, the firſt thing neceſſary is, to know the number of people in the kingdom; for which we have no certain rule but from the number of houſes, and of theſe we have lately had ſo particular and exact an account, from an actual numeration of them for the tax on windows, that it ſeems to be entirely ſatisfactory, and to determine the preſent number of people in *England* with ſome certainty, which was never before done. The only doubt remaining is about their number in former times, and whether they decreaſe or not. Now this doubt chiefly ariſes from a computation of the number of houſes given to Dr. *Brakenridge*, as is above mentioned, from an unknown office, which had got an account of them, in order to lay an intended tax in 1710; that makes the number of houſes and of people to have been much the ſame at that time, as they are at preſent; and as that agrees with the more certain account taken from the window

tax,

tax, it ſeems not unreaſonable to conclude, that they both confirm one another, and that the number of people is as great at preſent as formerly.

But this account in 1710 ſeems to be contradicted by another in 1692, taken from a numeration of the houſes for the tax on hearths; the firſt makes the number of houſes *then intended* to be taxed, but 729,048, to which one fourth is added for cottages, and that makes the whole number 911,310; whereas the account in 1692 makes the whole number of houſes 1,175,951: Theſe accounts therefore make the number of houſes 264,641 leſs in 1710 than in 1692, as we have ſaid; whereas there is all reaſon to believe, that the great numbers of foreigners who came into *England*, after the Revolution, from *Holland*, *Germany*, and *France*, between theſe two periods here mentioned, might have increaſed the number of people; or at leaſt that they did not decreaſe upwards of a million and an half in ſo ſhort a time, as they muſt have done, if we allow both theſe accounts to be genuine. Thus there muſt be a miſtake either in the one or the other of theſe accounts, and the queſtion is, which is moſt to be relied upon?

As for the account in 1710, it is given to us from an office, we know not from what, nor how they came by it; whether it was from a computation, as is moſt likely, for a tax that was only intended, but never laid, or from an actual

nume-

numeration of the houſes; neither does it appear, how many houſes, or of what denomination, may be included in that liſt of thoſe which were only intended to be taxed; ſo that we cannot tell for certain, what the tax might have cleared, if it had been laid, and conſequently we muſt be very uncertain of the number of houſes at that time. And that this was actually the caſe, appears from the numeration of the houſes in 1758 for the window tax, which makes the number of cottages 282,429, whereas by this computation of them in 1710, they were but 182,262, which is a difference of upwards of 100,000 only in the cottages; when there is no reaſon to ſuppoſe, that there could be ſuch a difference between them; on the contrary, they ſeem formerly to have had ſmaller houſes, or more cottages, than at preſent. Thus it appears, that this account in 1710 muſt have been only an uncertain computation, and is not to be relied upon for the number of people at that time, and much leſs before. The only thing that has given credit to it, is the known ability of the gentleman who has made ſo good a uſe of it, and computed the number of people from it at that time, as they appear to be in the preſent; but that was only from chance and accident, and not from the certainty of the account, which may be very erroneous, for the time in which it was taken, however it agrees with the preſent; ſo that from this account we cannot be certain,

certain, whether the people increaſe or decreaſe, however we may learn their preſent number.

The account in 1692, as far as we can learn, is liable to none of thoſe objections and uncertainties, which appear in this of 1710. The houſes were then actually numbered for the tax on hearths, as they were in 1758 for the window tax, ſo that theſe two are by far the moſt likely to determine the number of people at that time and the preſent, and to decide this queſtion concerning their decreaſe; of which that able hand who computed their numbers in 1710 was not appriſed. It is indeed ſuſpected by the ingenious author of the Tracts on the Corn Trade, whoſe accuracy and judgment are ſo conſpicuous in the whole performance, that this account of the number of houſes in 1692 might have been from a computation of *Dr. Halley*, and is not therefore to be relied upon; whence he concludes, that the number of houſes in *England* ſeems to have been the ſame for this century paſt; which opinion we ſhould likewiſe be of, could we ſee any room for ſuſpecting any ſuch uncertain computation of their number in 1692, which account ſeems rather to have been taken from an actual numeration for the tax on hearths, as that was then known. Mr. *Houghton*, indeed, who gives this account, tells us in the preceding letter, that he had the account of the number of acres in *England* from ſuch a computation of

Dr.

Dr. *Halley*, but mentions none ſuch for the houſes; of which he gives a liſt, and that of the number in each county, as if it were from ſuch an actual numeration, rather than any uncertain computation. If he had the account from any ſuch calculation, it is probable he would have mentioned it, as he does the other for the number of acres; or at leaſt it was a great omiſſion in him not to have done it. The doubt is only to be ſolved by an account of the number of houſes which paid the hearth-tax, of which we can find none but this, as it is above-mentioned *. Unleſs ſome other account is to be had, we muſt look upon this in 1692, to be much more certain than that in 1710, and to give a more certain account of the difference between the number of people in the preſent and former times.

In the mean time we may be pretty certain of the number of people in *England* at preſent, from the number of houſes taken in 1758, which is confirmed by a like account in 1756, when the inhabited houſes were but 961,578, as we have ſaid above. As for the number of people to a houſe, it is generally found to be ſix, and that from an obſervation that every marriage produces four children; thus a houſe or family conſiſts of two adults, two youths, and two children, which is found to be the proportion of people according to their ages. Some indeed have made a doubt about inmates,

* Page 11.

or

or ſervants and lodgers; but as theſe muſt belong to ſome family in which they were born, they do not make the number of people more than ſix to a houſe, or family, wherever they may reſide. From theſe accounts therefore, the number of people in *England* cannot be more than five millions, ſeven hundred and odd thouſands, as we have made them above; and as it is very probable, they were nigh 1,300,000 more in 1692, they muſt have decreaſed very conſiderably ſince that time. Such a decreaſe of people indeed ſeems to be unavoidable from their great concourſe to the towns, in which they decreaſe very faſt; and as the country is thereby deſerted, we cannot have loſt leſs in that, than a million and a half within a century, and perhaps two millions; eſpecially if we conſider, how many go abroad, and are taken off by the army and navy, at the ſame time that they flock to the towns.

If we could at the ſame time determine the number of people in *Scotland*, we might know the whole number in *Great Britain*; but of theſe we find no certain account, if it be not, that in *Scotland* they are not computed to be above a million and a half; and as theſe computations generally exceed the truth, they may probably be fewer *; but of this a more certain

* This computation is made by *Templeman*, who at the ſame time makes the number of people in *England* eight millions, and in *Ireland* but one million.

account might be had from the window-tax, which we have not been able to procure. Thus if we allow 5,700,000 for *England*, and 1,300,000 for *Scotland*, there are but ſeven millions of people in *Great Britain*; or ſeven millions and a half at moſt. In *Ireland* again they are reckoned to have not above a million; which makes the whole *Britiſh* nation at nome but eight millions, or eight millions and a half at moſt; which is but half as many as there are in *France*. This muſt appear to be but a ſmall number to manage and conduct the many important concerns of this nation both at home and abroad, both in *Europe*, *Aſia*, *Africa*, and *America*; and to defend and ſecure the many extenſive territories which the nation poſſeſſes in them all, or to people a tenth part of them; ſo that it would abundantly appear, what we have ſo often inculcated, that this nation wants nothing more than people. Some will perhaps ſay, that it ſtands in greater need of money; but people will always make money, and bring both wealth and power to a nation; eſpecially where they have ſo many, and ſuch fruitful funds to cultivate.

This ſeems to ſuggeſt three queſtions of no ſmall importance, which are, if the people of *Britain* are ſo few, from what does it proceed? how may they be increaſed? and how many people might this iſland maintain? This laſt may eaſily be determined from the contents of the whole, and the quantity of land that is requiſite to maintain every perſon.

Now

Now *England* contains 49,450 ſquare miles, according to *Templeman*'s ſurvey; and as a ſquare mile makes 640 acres, the contents of the whole are 31,648,000 acres; but Dr. *Halley*, in the computation above-mentioned, makes it to contain but 29 millions of acres; and as the maps uſed by him were probably more correct than thoſe of *Moll*, from which *Templeman* computed his ſurvey of the globe, the laſt may be higheſt the truth. The quantity of land that every perſon in a country may require to provide them in food and raiment, with all other neceſſaries and ſuperfluities, is more uncertain; and muſt differ according to the ſoil and climate, and manner of living. Of this, we have met with only one account from obſervation in *England*, which is given by Mr. *Houghton* in his huſbandry, who makes it four acres; and obſerves, that this quantity is allowed for cottagers by the laws of the land, and is commonly aſſigned them †. By this com-

† Every perſon requires ſo much land for Corn and other vegetable food; for beer, or other drink; for animal food; for cloathing; and they cannot do without tools, which muſt come from the land; beſides ſuperfluities in dogs and horſes, gardens, parks, foreſts, &c. To which if we add Timber, Iron, Hemp, Flax, &c; firewood, fencing, hedge-rows, &c; the quantity of four acres for every perſon, including all the waſte grounds, will not appear to be very great in *England*, where the expence of living is ſo immoderate.

There is no part of the world, in which this is ſo well known, or may be ſo well determined by ample experience,

computation of four acres for every perſon, including the waſte lands, *England* would not

as in *China*; where many circumſtances, neceſſary to determine the quantity of land that every perſon in a country requires, are to be met with, but not in any other country we know. For, 1. that country has been actually ſurveyed; 2. the people were actually numbered after the *Tartar* conqueſt; 3. they have no foreign trade, but muſt ſubſiſt upon the produce of their lands, which they have cultivated to as great a heighth as the art of man ſuggeſts, and far beyond any thing that is to be ſeen in *Europe*, by all accounts; 4. the country has for many centuries contained as many people as it will well maintain, inſomuch that many are ſtraitned for a ſubſiſtence, and whole nations are obliged to live on the waters, and have not ſo much as a habitation on the land. Now, upon the numeration of the people there were found to be 60 millions of fencible men between twenty and ſixty years of age, which cannot be above a fifth part of the people, eſpecially as great numbers of Literati, Mandarins, Bonzes, ſoldiers, the nations who live on the water, were all exempted out of this *Luſtrum*, and are vaſtly numerous; the number of people muſt therefore be at leaſt 300 millions, as they are commonly reckoned: and from the ſurveys of the country it appears to contain about 800 millions of acres; which make two acres and two thirds for each perſon. Now if we conſider the greater fertility of the ſoil and climate; the many natural productions unknown in *Europe*, which ſerve for food; the much greater improvement of agriculture; the more frugal way of living; and that they keep few or no horſes, gardens, parks, foreſts, or even a hedge-row, and eat their dogs, &c. this quantity of two acres and two thirds muſt appear to be equal to four acres in *England*, if not more. Yet '*China*, how vaſtly extended and fruitful 'it may be, is yet inſufficient to maintain its inhabitants. 'In order for the *Chineſe* to be happy, it were neceſſary 'that they poſſeſſed a country four times as large as their 'own.—A third part of them would eſteem themſelves 'happy, if they had only rice enough to ſubſiſt upon.' *Travels of the Jeſuits*, Vol. i. p. 81.

maintain

maintain above 8 millions of people, as there are but 32 millions of acres in the kingdom at moſt. This agrees with the computation of Dr. *Brakenridge*, who allows three acres for every perſon, and ſuppoſes, that a fifth part of the country is waſte land, ſo that there are but 25,300,000 acres fit to cultivate, which would maintain 8,430,000 people *. Now as the number of people in *England* is nigh ſix millions, the whole country would not maintain above two millions, or two millions and an half, at moſt, more than it now contains. And as a great part of it is uncultivated, ſeemingly as much as would maintain that additional number of people, the lands in culture are not much more than ſufficient to maintain the preſent inhabitants, and not nigh ſo many as the nation requires for its many concerns and extenſive territories both at home and abroad. Therefore, the keeping of ſuch a number of horſes, which ſtarve and extirpate the people, muſt be much more prejudicial to this nation, than any ſeem to imagine, or than we have repreſented it. By that means, it will be impoſſible for this nation ever to have as many people as it requires; more eſpecially if they would at the ſame time export Corn, which the people muſt require for their own uſe. Accordingly, though the lands in *England* are cultivated with nothing but Corn, yet they do not produce above one

* Philoſophical Tranſactions, Vol. xlix. p. 278.

thirty-

thirty-ſixth part more than the people make and conſume; that being the proportion between the export and the growth, including the ſeed. From all theſe conſiderations, it abundantly appears, how neceſſary it is for this nation to extend its Agriculture, and to reduce the number of horſes; and that horſes muſt *prohibit the exportation of Corn*, as we have ſaid above.

As for the other *Britiſh* iſles; the greateſt part of *Scotland* is ſo barren, and the climate ſo rainy in the *Weſt Highlands*, that Corn very often will not ripen in it, ſo that it would maintain but few people; it is reckoned, not much above two millions, or 2,200,000 †. Thus the iſland of *Great Britain* would not maintain above ten millions of people, or twelve at moſt; about half as many more as are in it. But as *Ireland* is more fruitful, and contains about 17,500,000 acres, allowing four for each perſon, as in *England*, ſince the country is as fruitful, if not more ſo, it would at that rate maintain 4,400,000 people; and the whole *Britiſh* iſles about fifteen millions, or ſixteen at moſt, nigh twice as many as they now contain. From this, as well as many other conſiderations, it appears, how neceſſary it is for the nation to improve *Ireland*, if ſhe would have people to defend her many and extenſive dominions; that is like the taking in of waſte and uncultivated lands, of which you are in the greateſt want;

† *Id. ibid.*

that

that kingdom is not reckoned to contain above a million of people, whereas by improving that, and extending your Agriculture in *England*, you might maintain at leaſt five or ſix millions of people more than you have in theſe two kingdoms alone. And this may be the more neceſſary, as *France* contains 88 millions of acres, and by their more frugal way of living on vegetable food, although the country is not ſo fruitful as *England*, it would maintain not leſs than 22 millions of people, nigh half as many more as they have; although that is not above ſix millions more than the *Britiſh* iſles might maintain, if they were duely cultivated, and that for the reaſons given above *.

Now as *England* would not maintain above eight or nine millions of people, and a great part of it never was cultivated, it would plainly appear, that there never were eight millions in it, according to the common computation: and from this likewiſe it appears, that the number of people cannot be greater than we have made them. This likewiſe increaſes the doubt, whether there were ſeven millions of people in *England* at the Revolution. From this ſome will be apt to infer, that we cannot have loſt a million and an half or two millions of people in the country, as we have ſaid; but it would rather appear, that we cannot have loſt leſs, ſince that number at leaſt is maintained by Trade and the Plantations, and not by the produce of the land;

* Note, p. 81.

which for that reaſon does not maintain above four millions of people, and but half as many as it is capable of doing.

This leads us to conſider the next queſtion, if the people of *Britain* are ſo few, how may they be increaſed? For this there are two ample fields, both by improvements at home, and in the many plantations of which the nation is poſſeſſed abroad. As for the firſt, you will find, that, notwithſtanding all the advantages of trade, many more people are to be maintained by agriculture. To live by trade, is to live upon others, and to take a part of their ſubſiſtence which they want themſelves, or to ſupply them with Manufactures which they may make. Hence to gain wealth by trade, you ſhould have wealthy people to deal with, otherwiſe you can get no riches from them. The great fund for improvement, and for maintaining of people, is therefore upon your own native land, which you ſeem to neglect for others. It may be obſerved, that all countries are more or leſs opulent, according to the fertility of the ſoil, which is the great fund for maintaining the people both in neceſſaries and ſuperfluities, or riches. Our writers on trade, indeed, who ſeem to be unacquainted with agriculture, tell us the direct contrary, and that all countries are more or leſs opulent, in proportion to their trade, as may be ſeen by *Holland* and *Venice*, ſay they: but we do not take theſe to be *countries*, they are only ports to others, and that to

all

all the moſt fruitful countries in *Europe*, from which the riches and ſubſiſtence of theſe trading ſtates proceed; and for that reaſon they are as precarious, as the policy of the ſtates on which they rely. Were it not for the great territorial poſſeſſions of the *Dutch* in the *Weſt-Indies*, their income would be as inconſiderable as their country. Thus the only way to maintain a number of people is by the produce of the land, and agriculture is the great ſource, both of population, wealth and power. The greateſt potentates on earth are under an eternal ſubjection to the plough, and they are moſt powerful, who make the moſt and beſt uſe of it.

—*Digna manet divini gloria ruris.*

It is juſtly ſaid by a very great judge, "Such as our employment is for people, ſo many will our people be *;" but agriculture maintains more people than all other employments put together, and none can be maintained without it. It likewiſe breeds people at the ſame time that it affords them a ſubſiſtence; and as theſe want a maintenance from the land, agriculture improves itſelf, by the people whom it breeds, *creſcitque eundo*. And this is the more to be regarded in *England*, as it appears from the obſervation above-mentioned †, which is there-

* *Child* on Trade.

† Page 15.

fore of the utmoſt conſequence to this nation, and ought to be carefully attended to, that there are no people bred in the kingdom but by agriculture; by which, however, they increaſe ſo faſt, that in a ſhort time the land would neither hold nor maintain them, were they to be rightly employed in huſbandry. Thus there would be no want of people either in *Britain*, or *Ireland*, were they to follow the occupation of huſbandmen, and to cultivate their lands in Corn for men, inſtead of graſs for beaſts. Without that uſe of the lands, which is ſo perverted to ſupport the luxury of a very few, this nation will never be able to breed or maintain half the people it wants. The *Romans* themſelves never ſtood in ſuch need of a *lex agraria*, as the *Engliſh*. If you would have people in *Britain*, you ſhould follow the example of *Japan*, which is exactly in the ſame ſituation, confined to narrow bounds by the ſea, and in want of land to maintain a number of people; where, 'among many excellent laws, which 'relate to agriculture, they have one, by vir-'tue of which, whoever doth not cultivate his 'ground for the term of one year, forfeits his 'title and poſſeſſion †;' and they are at as great care to cultivate their lands entirely in Corn, and have little or no graſs at all, by which they maintain five or ſix times as many people as are in the three *Britiſh* iſles, although the three iſles of *Japan* are not ſo large, nor nigh ſo

† *Kempfer*'s Hiſtory of *Japan*, Vol. I. p. 121.

fruitful,

fruitful. This number of people they are able to maintain, by improvements in agriculture which are unknown in *Europe*, however great we reckon ours to be; and by living almoſt entirely on vegetable food; whereas in *England* we breed ſo many beaſts, that we extirpate the people by them.

Thus there is nothing wanted to procure a ſufficient number of people in *Britain*, and that very ſoon, but to employ them in a proper manner; which would render the naturalization of foreigners totally unneceſſary, although that is otherwiſe deemed to be much wanted. For this purpoſe the land ſhould be appropriated only to ſuch uſes, as contribute to the ſupport of mankind. Corn ſhould be the chief and almoſt only produce of the country. This is likewiſe the proper improvement for *Ireland*, and the way to increaſe the number of people. By that means alſo the nation might preſerve the Corn Trade, which is otherwiſe likely to be loſt; and would be as great a prejudice, as many reckon it to be a benefit to the nation, were we to have as many people in it as are wanted. It would be impoſſible for this nation to maintain nigh as many people as it requires, and at the ſame time to export Corn. That only becomes an advantage from the want of people to conſume it, which we can never have without plenty of Corn, nor even without the employing of people to raiſe it. But the breeding and ſupporting of a number of people

by that means would be a much greater advantage to the nation, and particularly to the landed intereſt, than the exportation of Corn. A number of people would render Corn and land much more valuable than they are. The exportation therefore is only allowed as a temporary expedient, in order to encourage agriculture, till the people come to be ſo numerous by it, that they may conſume all the Corn that the country produces. They would then find, that a ſupply from *Ireland*, which it is very capable of producing, would be the greateſt advantage to this nation; and is indeed abſolutely neceſſary to maintain half the people that are wanted in *England*. For this reaſon we ſhould encourage the Corn Trade in *Ireland*, in order to promote the agriculture of the country, as much and rather more than in *England*. That may be the only way to keep the trade from falling into the hands of *France*, when there are ſuch frequent prohibitions of it in *England*. It is a ſure maxim in trade, ſays a very good judge *, *all covet, all loſe*. This ſeems to be the proper improvement for *Ireland*, which is ſuitable both to the ſoil and climate, and neceſſary for the welfare and ſupport of the whole nation, if it would ſtudy to have as many people as it wants and requires. But inſtead of that, they there alſo turn the beſt Corn lands into graſs, and ſtarve and extirpate the people with cattle, as they do in *England*

* Sir *Joſiah Child*.

with

with horſes. By that means the people are deprived of the benefit of their labor in agriculture; they thereby become ſo poor and miſerable; the country is depopulated, and does not contain a fourth part of the people that it is capable of maintaining.

Another cauſe of the want of people in *Ireland* is the ſowing of Hemp and Flax; which is lookt upon as a great improvement, as it may no doubt be in ſuch a ſoil and climate, where the people are ſo few; but ſo long as they convert their lands to that uſe, they will never have any number of people. Hemp and Flax deſtroy the beſt Corn lands, and deprive the people of bread, wherever they are ſowed. It is for this reaſon, that they are obliged to live upon potatoes, as the very beſt Corn lands are not only occupied, but totally exhauſted, by Hemp and Flax; and they buy Corn for ſo few people in ſuch a fruitful country. By ſuch a method of agriculture you will never maintain people, but extirpate them, as much as by keeping of cattle and horſes inſtead of them. It is to theſe two cauſes that the depopulation of *Ireland* ſeems to be chiefly owing. This we may learn from the example of the *Ukrain*, and parts adjacent, thoſe rich and fruitful countries, which formerly overran all *Europe*, when the people made nothing but Corn; but by the planting of ſuch quantities of Hemp and Flax, as they now make, they have hardly any people in them,

and can never maintain any number upon theſe poiſonous weeds, which deprive them of Corn to eat. It is for this reaſon, that moſt of the landlords in *England* will not ſuffer their lands to be ſown with Hemp or Flax, under a penalty of five pounds an acre. However this nation may want thoſe commodities, and notwithſtanding the ſoil and climate are both fit to produce them, yet *Britain* is obliged to expend great ſums for them, and can never have them of her own growth, without a much greater loſs in people, than they are worth. For the ſame reaſon theſe iſlands will never produce any quantities of *Timber*, *Iron*, *Pitch*, *Tar*, *Pot-aſh*, and many other valuable and neceſſary commodities. Theſe the nation is deprived of for want of land, and of many others by the climate.

Thus, beſides people, *Britain* wants many of the moſt valuable and neceſſary commodities. Not to mention *Wine* and *Oil*, ſhe has neither *Hemp*, *Flax*, *Silk* nor *Cotton*, the manufactures of which are reckoned to be equal to the woollen.—She has not even *Wool*, to carry on that great branch of her Trade and manufactures.—She is without that neceſſary article of *Iron*, and is obliged to import two or three and thirty thouſand tons a year, when ſhe makes but fourteen thouſand of her own—And notwithſtanding the great occaſion the nation has for trade and navigation, yet *Britain* produces neither materials for *ſhip-building*, nor *naval ſtores*;

ſtores; but is obliged to import great quantities of theſe from foreign countries, at the ſame time that moſt of her ſhips are built in the plantations, and large ſupplies of naval ſtores come from thence.—It is upon theſe and the like commodities, that this nation expends its treaſure to the amount of four or five millions a year, which might be all ſaved by getting them from the plantations; beſides all the advantages of the navigation, which are equal to half their value.

Thus *Britain* is a country of manufactures without materials—a trading nation without commodities to trade upon—and a maritime power without either naval ſtores, or materials for ſhip-building.—It is this ſituation, that renders both trade and plantations ſo eſſentially neceſſary, for the ſupport of this nation, as well as agriculture. By theſe as many people are perhaps maintained in *Britain*, as by the produce of the lands. It is ſaid by a very good judge, that "every *Engliſhman* in the plan-"tations creates employment for four at "home *;" but if we only ſuppoſe, that every perſon there employs one at home, the three millions of people we have in *America*, with *Aſia* and *Africa*, will almoſt maintain as many in *Britain*, which are nigh half the people. And as the colonies increaſe ſo faſt, if you find em-

* *Child* on Trade.

ployments

ployments for them, to ſupport the nation at home, and make them mutually ſupply one another, the manner of doing which was the firſt deſign of this diſcourſe, you might have twice as many people in *Britain*, as the land would maintain. By that means *Britain* might vye with all its enemies and rivals, and maintain more people than all *France*. It was not for nothing, therefore, as many who do not underſtand trade would perſuade themſelves, that this nation endeavoured to defend and ſecure her poſſeſſions abroad. It is for the ſake of trade, that ſo many people flock to the towns in *Britain*, which are entirely ſupported by it; the chief and moſt profitable branches of which are to the plantations. Were it not for theſe advantages of trade, both the trading and manufacturing towns of *England*, and eſpecially this capital, would dwindle and go to decay, much faſter than they have throve; and the people would decreaſe in them likewiſe, more than they appear to have done in the country. This kingdom would ſuffer ſtill more in its finances, whatever bad ſituation they may already be in. The three articles of *Tobacco*, *Rice*, and *Fiſh* alone, bring in a ballance of trade to *Britain* of at leaſt a million a year; not to mention ſugar, ſhips, naval ſtores, and many other articles which ſhe both vends, and requires for her own uſe; without which this nation would ſoon be drained of every farthing

of

of money it has; and might be inſulted by every fiſhing veſſel upon her own coaſts.

If theſe things are conſidered, this nation could not ſubſiſt, as an independent ſtate, without her colonies; and would neither be able to maintain any number of people at home, nor to defend herſelf againſt her enemies abroad. We need only mention what happened in the year 1718, when the *Swedes* and *Ruſſians* leagued together to deprive *Britain* of *naval ſtores*, and would allow none to be exported out of their dominions, but in their own ſhips, and at their own exorbitant prices; which muſt ſoon have ruined the trade and navigation of this kingdom: But proper meaſures being concerted for getting thoſe neceſſary articles from the colonies, they were immediately attended with the deſired ſucceſs, and *Britain* had not only a ſufficient ſupply for her own uſe, but great quantities to export; by that means, pitch and tar fell from the exorbitant price of three pounds a barrel, which the northern powers had ſet upon it, to fifteen ſhillings a barrel, and other naval ſtores in proportion *; beſides which this nation ſtands in as great need of many other as neceſſary and uſeful articles, which are, or might be, as eaſily obtained from the colonies *. Let thoſe therefore who would ſay, that the colonies muſt be the ruin of this nation, conſider its condition and ſitu-

* See *Gee* on Trade.

ation; if they are, it can only be by their miſmanagement.

From this we may ſee both the uſe of colonies, and the deſign and intent of ſettling them; which is, to ſupply the nation with ſuch commodities as ſhe has not of her own, and to purchaſe their neceſſaries from *Britain* by that means. They ſhould ſupply their mother country with the materials, of which ſhe has few or none of her own, and get their manufactures for them. By that means they would aid and aſſiſt, and ſupport one another; their connection and dependance would be mutual and reciprocal, and conſequently laſting and ſecure. It is by ſuch an eſtabliſhment, and by that alone, that *Britain* can either reap the benefit, or preſerve the allegiance of her colonies, or that they can ſubſiſt by a dependance upon her. If they were to be eſtabliſhed on ſuch a footing, their allegiance and dependance would be as ſecure and laſting, as the advantages reaped by it would be great and beneficial. When the colonies make ſuch commodities as are wanted in *Britain*, of which there are many, they depend upon her for the vent of theſe their products, on which they rely for their daily ſubſiſtence; and as *Britain* is the beſt market in the world for ſuch commodities, that makes their dependance their intereſt, and intereſt rules the world. The colonies which make ſtaple commodities for *Britain*, could not ſubſiſt without her; they who make none

cannot live by her. This is therefore the way both to govern the colonies, to ſecure their allegiance and dependance, and to reap the benefit of them. Many indeed think of nothing but keeping them in ſubjection by the rules and power of government; but the firſt thing to be conſidered in governing any people whatever, is, how they are to ſubſiſt under that government, without which it will be very difficult to keep them either in awe or order. A few ſtaple commodities would govern the colonies, much better than all the laws or regulations that were ever thought of, and none can be effectual without them. So long as they produce nothing wanted in *Britain*, they can never live under her government, without great complaints on both ſides; they cannot then vend their products in *Britain*, on which they rely for a ſubſiſtence, and muſt depend on other powers for the chief part of their ſupport, as we have ſaid above.

But notwithſtanding the many colonies which this nation has, very few people in *Britain* ſeem to know what a colony is, or ſhould be, and are ſtill leſs acquainted with thoſe in *North America*. Colonies ſhould live *merely by their Agriculture*, without either Manufactures, or Trade, but what is confined to their Mother Country; a way of living of which there are no inſtances in any part of the world, and which for that reaſon is ſo little underſtood. To maintain a number of people in that manner, merely by the produce of lands, requires ten times more

land than many would allow them, while the colonies in *North America* have not above a tenth part of what many people imagine. They are limited both on the North and Weſt by chains of barren mountains, one beyond another, which confine them to a very narrow ſlip of land along the ſea coaſt. Within theſe bounds all our colonies make but three different and diſtinct countries, and thoſe of no great extent. The four northern colonies are exactly ſuch another country as *Scotland*, and of the ſame dimenſions; the ſoil is as poor, and the climate much worſe.—The two Tobacco colonies, *Virginia* and *Maryland*, adjacent to theſe, are about as large as one half of *England*, and not ſo large as *Ireland*.—The two Southern or Rice colonies, *North* and *South Carolina*, are a little larger than *England*, but as barren and unhealthful, as this is the reverſe of both.—Thus the *Britiſh* Plantations in *North America* make three different countries, the Northern, the Middle, and Southern colonies, which may be compared to the three *Britiſh* iſles at home, and are about as large *.—Of this it is but a very

* From a careful examination of their ſeveral ſurveys, and a compariſon of them with the obſervations of the longitude and latitude, too long to be here inſerted, it appears, that *New-England* and *New-York*, which are one and the ſame country, divided only by a row of trees marked in the woods, or a little brook, make about three degrees of longitude, and two of latitude, or about 16,000 ſquare miles; below the barren mountains which ſurround them both in the North and Weſt; and if we take all the mountains out of

very ſmall ſpot, that produces any thing for *Britain*; not much more than a few Tobacco plantations which have been lately ſettled in the middle colonies (the reſt being worn out with that exhauſting weed) and the Rice Grounds or Swamps of *Carolina*, which are ſo unhealthful, that they deſtroy more people than they are perhaps worth, eſpecially to this nation, which wants nothing more than people, both at home and abroad.—The climate in the Northern, and the

of this, which are ſo barren that they are quite bald on top, and hardly produce a tree or a buſh, both from the nature of the ſoil and climate, it would reduce them to a much narrower compaſs.

New Jerſey, and the inhabited parts of *Pennſylvania*, below the mountains, which are likewiſe one and the ſame country, make two degrees of latitude, and two of longitude, or about 11,000 ſquare miles; this makes 27,000 ſquare miles for the four Northern colonies; and *Scotland*, by *Templeman*'s Survey, contains 27,794.

Virginia and *Maryland* again make one country, lying on *Cheſapeak Bay*, which, with the many large rivers that fall into it, are at leaſt a third part of the country for a great diſtance from the ſea, and if we deduct theſe, the whole contains about 24,000 ſquare miles.—By the accurate ſurveys of Lord *Fairfax*'s territories in the middle of the country, it is but 115 miles broad from *Cheſapeak Bay* to the mountains in a ſtraight line; and it cannot be more, ſince they reckon but 140 miles on a crooked road.

North and *South Carolina* are as large as all the other ſix taken together, below the mountains, and contain about 51,000 ſquare miles, with the beſt part of *Georgia*. This makes 102,000 ſquare miles for all the eight colonies. If we allow them 105,000, which is the dimenſions of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, it is as much as they contain, and of that a great part is perfectly barren.

The

the barrenneſs of the ſoil in the Southern, render them unfit to produce any thing of conſequence, that this nation wants from them, that is, for *Britiſh* colonies.—It is only from the 41ſt to the 36th degree of latitude, or from the town of *New-York* to the middle of *North Carolina*, that we meet with a tolerable good ſoil and climate in all that Continent, on this ſide of the mountains which ſurround them; and of that it is not one half that produces any thing for *Britain*.—If we go beyond this, either to the North or South, the lands grow worſe, till they end in bare rocks, covered with ſnow, in the one, or barren ſands, ſcorched with the ſun, in the other; if it be not here and there in a ſpot upon the ſide of a river, no broader than a handkerchief.—No part of that Continent is fit for *Agriculture*, to the northward of the 43d degree of latitude, as would appear from a due account of it; and even there it does not produce *Corn to eat*, in the beſt part of it, for the few people who are already in it.—The Southern parts again are

The *Britiſh* dominions in *North America*, from the North Pole to the Gulf of *Mexico*, contain about 1,600,000 ſquare miles at moſt; of which one half is conſtantly frozen, and does not produce ſo much as a tree, or a buſh, or a blade of graſs; two thirds are uninhabitable for the ſame reaſon; and three fourths of theſe territories will not produce the neceſſaries of life, at leaſt by Agriculture. It is only the remaining fourth part that is fit to cultivate, and of that our colonies poſſeſs but a fourth part, or a ſixteenth part of the whole; and cannot well extend their ſettlements, ſo as to keep up a correſpondence with *Britain*, till they paſs the mountains which ſurround them, and ſettle on the *Miſſiſſippi*.

rather

rather worſe, as they deſtroy more people than they are worth to this nation; and human nature is not fit to undergo *the ſlavery of Planters*, in ſuch intemperate and unhealthful climes and ſituations, if we knew what either of them were.

This is in general a view of the *Britiſh* colonies in *North America*, which muſt be known to all who are acquainted with them, as many pretend to be. To give a particular account of any one of them, would require a treatiſe of itſelf, as we know by experience. A due account of the climate of *North America* alone would require a much longer treatiſe than the one we write. But unleſs we are well acquainted with that, all our knowledge of the colonies is but dark ignorance; and ſerves only to miſlead many, and to deceive and diſappoint the nation. The intereſt of the nation in the colonies depends entirely upon their ſtaple commodities, as theſe do upon the ſoil and climate; without a due knowledge of theſe, therefore, we can form no judgment concerning the colonies, and much leſs of the intereſt of this nation in them. But if we were ſo much as to enter into an account of any one of theſe, or a deſcription of the colonies, they would make the tail of this diſcourſe much longer than the body.

To live merely by Agriculture, and to purchaſe all their neceſſaries by the produce of it, as all colonies ſhould, and would do, if they could, is much more difficult in ſuch a ſoil and climate as *North America*, than in any other part of the world;

world; it is ſo difficult, that it is abſolutely impracticable in many of them; while theſe are the only people in the world who are obliged to ſubſiſt in that manner. To live by planting, as it is called, or by the making of their preſent ſtaple commodities for *Britain*, it is found from daily experience in the Tobacco colonies, where they have hitherto ſubſiſted in that manner, that a Planter ſhould have forty or fifty acres of land for every Labourer; where they are reduced to leſs, they are ſoon obliged to leave off that manner of living; that quantity of land is required not only to produce their ſtaple commodities, and to ſupply them with freſh lands as they wear out, but to afford a large range for their ſtock, which ſhould in a manner maintain themſelves, while the people beſtow their time and labour upon their ſtaple commodities for *Britain*, otherwiſe they cannot live by them: But it appears, from a particular inquiry into the number of people and quantity of land, that in many of theſe colonies they have but ten or twelve acres a head; in others not above twenty; and not a ſufficient quantity in any of them, to live *merely* by making Tobacco, Hemp or Flax, if it be not in the Southern or Rice colonies, where the land will neither breed people, nor produce any thing. But if the colonies thus want land to ſubſiſt by their Agriculture at preſent, that is, to live by a dependance on their Mother Country, what can we expect from them in twenty or thirty years, which ſoon come about in a nation, when their numbers may be double! It will then be as impracticable

for

for them to purchaſe their Manufactures from *Britain*, or to live in that ſtate of dependance on their Mother Country, as it would be for *Britain* to purchaſe all the Manufactures ſhe uſes, without making or ſelling any. We have ſaid above, that the people of *Britain* would require four acres of land a head to maintain them, and in *North America* ten or twelve would not be ſufficient to ſubſiſt in the ſame manner, for the reaſons before mentioned. It would therefore make one ſmile, to ſee "a queſtion of importance propoſed to the "public," in which it is alledged, that theſe colonies might live on an acre and an half of land for each perſon, as the *Romans*, *Sabines*, and we know not who, did in the days of yore, it is pretended (probably on rapine and plunder); and that theſe colonies may ſpoil the manufactures of *Britain* by purchaſing too many of them! But all our late accounts of the colonies ſeem to be of a piece with this, to be as wide of the truth, and as directly contrary to the intereſt and welfare of this nation. To confine them even to their preſent bounds, is to oblige them to become independant of their mother country, whether they will or not. And this is the more to be regarded, eſpecially in *Britain*, as the people in the colonies muſt increaſe and multiply much faſter, than they do here; ſince they live almoſt entirely by their agriculture, the only ſource of population, perhaps, in any part of the world; which we have been ſo particular in explaining for that reaſon.

All this would abundantly appear from a due account of the colonies, of the ſoil and climate of *North America*, and of what they produce, or may be fit to yield for the benefit of the nation; of which we can only here give a general view; the particulars muſt be reſerved for *an account of the property and intereſt of* Great Britain *in* North America, and a particular deſcription of that Continent, compared with the other parts of the world, by which we may be able to form a better judgement concerning it. We can here only give a general view of their ſtaple commodities, on which the intereſt of the nation more immediately depends; from which it will appear, that theſe colonies can never purchaſe their neceſſaries from *Britain*, or ſubſiſt by that dependance upon her, by the preſent ſtate of their agriculture.—It is expected, they ſhould do this by means of *Tobacco*, *Indigo*, *Hemp* and *Flax*, which are the moſt unſuitable to their ſoil, and the two laſt to the climate, of any thing almoſt that grows; and it is impracticable to make theſe or any other productions of the earth, which neither agree with the ſoil nor climate, the ſtaple of any country whatever.—Theſe commodities require the very beſt and richeſt lands, whereas their lands are very poor and mean.—Tobacco is one of thoſe rank and poiſonous weeds, which only grow on rotten ſoils and dunghills, ſuch as freſh wood lands, and will not thrive on any others.—To make Tobacco, Indigo, Hemp or Flax, eſpecially

eſpecially on their lands, requires more manure than thoſe vile commodities are worth, and more than can poſſibly be had for them in the ſoil and climate of *North America*, which produce ſo little or no graſs.—The length and ſeverity of the winters in the Northern colonies, and the badneſs of the paſturage in the Southern, render it impracticable to maintain ſtocks of cattle ſufficient to manure lands for theſe commodities, which their lands will not produce, without great quantities of manure.—In the northern colonies they are obliged to expend their manure on their Corn and graſs grounds, and have none to ſpare for Hemp and Flax; in the tobacco colonies that weed would require more manure than any country affords, and more than all the cattle and horſes in *England* yield; and in the ſouthern colonies their ſcorching ſands in a hot climate will not take manure, by which they are good for nothing, and much leſs to produce ſuch commodities as theſe, which many think ſhould be their ſtaple.—Theſe and the like commodities rob the earth of all the nouriſhment in it, and all the manure upon it, while they afford no ſuſtenance to any thing; and thereby ſtarve both man and beaſt, as our Planters complain every day, while we are laying taxes upon them here.—At the ſame time they are obliged to plant *Indian* Corn, which, by its great ſubſtance and large ſpreading root, exhauſts the ſubſtance of the earth, as much as theſe their ſtaple commodities; and both together deprive the people of the very neceſ-

ſaries of life, inſtead of affording them a ſubſiſtence, by purchaſing their neceſſaries from *Britain*, as many, who appear to be totally unacquainted with thoſe things, imagine they ſhould.

By theſe means their lands are ſo exhauſted, that they do not produce above a third part of what they uſed to do. Formerly they made three and four hogſheads of tobacco a ſhare, that is, for every labourer, where they cannot now make one; and they uſed to have fifty and ſixty buſhels of Corn to an acre of land, where they now reckon twenty a good crop. Thus their lands do not produce above a third part of what they did formerly, when they were freſh and fertile, while the people are twice or thrice as numerous, and require the produce of their lands for their own uſe; inſtead of being able to pay taxes, or even to purchaſe abſolute neceſſaries.

It is by theſe means, that Corn is three or four times as dear as it was only twenty years ago; it is as dear in the colonies as in *England*, and will ſoon be much dearer, if the people increaſe and multiply at the rate they do, and exhauſt their lands by planting theſe and the like commodities. The conſequence of this is, it not only renders them unable to plant any thing for *Britain*, before the neceſſaries of life; but as Tobacco, Hemp and Flax exhauſt their Corn and Graſs grounds, they hinder the people to raiſe ſtocks of cattle, either for their ſubſiſtence, or to manure their lands for theſe crops, and oblige them to keep ſtocks of ſheep; thereby

thereby ſupplying them with the materials both of their hempen, linen, and woollen manufactures, while they obſtruct the growing of other commodities to purchaſe theſe their neceſſaries from *Britain*.—But none ſeem to conſider the neceſſaries of life in the colonies; the firſt thing to be conſidered in all countries, and more eſpecially on plantations, where they have no markets for proviſions; theſe every one is obliged to make for their own uſe, and thereby waſte and conſume twice or thrice as much as they do in other countries, where they ſell the produce of their farms, and ſupply themſelves at markets.

Theſe colonies have hitherto ſubſiſted upon the gleanings of the woods, and the fertility of the freſh wood lands, which is very great at firſt; it is only theſe that produce any quantity of Tobacco, Hemp, or Flax, or any plenty of the neceſſaries of life; theſe they are at firſt obliged to plant with ſuch crops, in order to exhauſt the luxuriant fertility of freſh wood lands, and bring them into culture and tillage; but as ſoon as that is worn out, which is in three or four years at moſt, they are under as great a neceſſity of leaving off that method of planting, and making theſe ſtaple commodities for *Britain*. It is for theſe reaſons, that moſt of our Planters have been obliged to leave off planting altogether, inſtead of making improvements in it, with ſuch commodities as Hemp and Flax. Moſt of our Tobacco plantations are broke up, and turned into Corn and Paſture Grounds, which

which produce nothing but Corn, Cattle, and Wool, the ſtaple of *Britain*; which will ſoon become the only ſtaple of all theſe colonies, without ſome other methods of Agriculture; and that ſtate we only haſten and precipitate them into, by planting Hemp and Flax.

This ſtate of the colonies is more to be regarded, as their paſtures will not maintain large cattle, and are only fit to feed ſheep and goats, on which they muſt ſubſiſt, as people do in the like ſoil and climate in all parts of the world. Their Wool is likewiſe better than the *Engliſh*, at leaſt in the Southern colonies; it is of the ſame kind with the *Spaniſh* Wool, or curled and frizzled like that, and might be rendered as fine by the ſame management. Sheep likewiſe maintain themſelves, in theſe Southern Colonies, throughout the whole year, without coſt or trouble. Thus by the ſtep which the colonies have lately taken, to raiſe all the ſheep they can, they will ſoon have plenty of Wool. With this they have already made Cloth worth twelve ſhillings a yard, which is as good as any that is made of *Engliſh* Wool. Some of their Wool has been ſent to *England*, where it ſold for the price of the beſt; although this was from a common Tobacco plantation, where no care had been taken of it, ſince *America* has been ſettled. This may perhaps be looked upon by ſome as a loſs to *England*; but if ſhe would ſtudy to make a right and proper uſe of her colonies, this might be of more ſervice to her, than any one thing they are capable of producing.

ducing. If the *Spaniards* ſucceed in their attempt to manufacture their Wool, *England* may want it from the colonies, more than any other commodities, as it is well known, there is not a ſingle piece of fine Cloth made in *England* without *Spaniſh* Wool.—Were we to conſider the proper improvements for the colonies in *North America*, Wool ſhould be the very firſt of them. They have already Wool enough, which is as fit for their uſe, as if it were finer, and the only way to hinder them to manufacture it, is, to improve it ſo as to make it fit to ſend to *England*, in order to purchaſe their Manufactures, inſtead of making them, and to ſupply the place of *Spaniſh* Wool; and if that were rightly ſet about, it might be eaſily done.

In order to prevent this ſtate of the colonies, and to ſupply them with a proper ſtaple commodity for *Britain*, nothing ſeems to be thought of but *Hemp* and *Flax*; but it ſhews a great want of knowledge to endeavour to improve lands with Hemp and Flax, which are worn out with *Indian* Corn and Tobacco, or would never bear them. They are obliged to leave off planting tobacco, becauſe it requires manure once in three or four years, but Hemp and Flax require it every year, and that here in *Europe* †, and much

† Both Hemp and Flax are ſo great impoveriſhers of ground, that it requires dunging after each year's crop; nor ſhould either of them be ſown two years together on the ſame ground. *Du Hamel's Huſbandry*, p. 330.

more

more in *North America*. It is contrary both to reaſon and experience, to expect to get Hemp and Flax, which require a ſtrong rich and moiſt ſoil in a cool climate, from the light ſandy and parched ſoil of *North America*, which has a barren dryneſs in it, that renders it the moſt unfit to produce theſe commodities, of any thing that grows. We might as well expect to get them, inſtead of wine and oil, from *Spain* and *Portugal*, where both the ſoil and climate are more ſuitable to them. They are as improper for theſe ſingular and peculiar climates, as for the ſoil. The proper climate for Hemp and Flax is from the middle of *France* to the middle of *Ruſſia*, that is, from the 45th to the 60th degree of latitude, which in *North America* extends from *Montreal* to the northern parts of *Hudſon*'s Bay, where we have neither ſoil nor climate fit to produce any thing. If we would plant Hemp and Flax to the ſouthward of this latitude, in which all our colonies lie, they ſhould be ſown in winter, like wheat, that they may in like manner get ſtrength and ſubſtance before the heats of ſummer come on; this is the practice in ſowing Hemp and Flax from the ſouthern parts of *France* to *Egypt*; but in *North America* this cannot be done on account of the long and hard winters, and late and backward ſprings; which hinder theſe crops to be ſown, till late in the ſpring, when they are burnt up by the heats of ſummer which immediately enſue, before they come to their full growth, and

before they acquire that ſtrength and toughneſs, for which the commodity is only valuable. Hemp and Flax cannot be ſown in the proper ſeaſon for them, any where in *North America* to the northward of *Carolina*, where the poor ſandy ſoil is the moſt improper for theſe crops, of any thing that the earth produces. For this reaſon, they ſow Hemp and Flax in their ſwamps, the greateſt part of which are only the waſhings of the ſand-banks which ſurround them, and are nothing but ſand and water; in which Hemp will ſhoot up to a great height, it is true, but it is as weak as the water it grows in. The proper ſoil for Hemp and Flax is ſuch as a *white oak ſwamp*, which has a ſtrong clayie bottom; or the low grounds upon the ſides of a ſwamp or brook, and not in them; upon theſe they grow ſome which is very good, but it is not ſo much as they require for their own uſe, nor can we expect thoſe countries to produce much more. They are obliged to import great quantities of Hemp, and pay a double freight for it from *Ruſſia* and from *England*, inſtead of making it to ſupply the nation.

Thus the preſent bounty on Hemp and Flax will only ſerve, as the late one did, to ſet the colonies about growing theſe commodities, in order to manufacture them, inſtead of ſupplying the nation with them. They have made many hundred tons, but have been obliged to manufacture it all, if it be not a ſample or two. It is not a bounty that they

want, but a proper ſoil and climate, ſuch as thoſe upon the *Miſſiſipi* and *Ohio*. They lately had a bounty of twelve pounds a ton granted for Hemp ſent to *Britain* by the province of *New-York*, which expired without any effect; and after the bounty was granted in Queen *Anne*'s time, people were ſent to *New-England* to induce that colony to plant it, which they have never been able to do, as it exhauſts both their Corn Lands and manure, they tell us †. They have had a bounty on Hemp and Flax in *North America* ever ſince the year 1663, which has been renewed from time to time, and they have as often tried to make theſe commodities, but could never produce ſuch quantities, as to ſerve for a ſtaple commodity to ſend to *Britain*, and to purchaſe their neceſſaries by that means; and where that is the caſe, they are obliged to convert the produce of their lands to their own uſe, and to make thoſe neceſſaries which they cannot purchaſe.

Since their lands will not produce thoſe commodities which require a rich and fertile ſoil, it is propoſed to plant them with *Cotton*; which grows in the greateſt plenty and perfection in

† Hemp requires ſuch very ſtrong land to produce it, that it would conſume all our dung to raiſe it in any great quantities, ſo that we ſhould not be able to raiſe bread Corn; therefore, how inviting ſoever the trade is, and how great ſoever the encouragements have been, both from home and by our own governments, we have not as yet engaged in that affair. *Eliot*'s *New-England Huſbandry*, I. 15.

all

all our colonies from *Maryland* to *South Carolina* and *Georgia*, and might even be made in the northern colonies, as it is in *Ruſſia*, if they had the right ſort. Cotton is as common, and as generally manufactured in many of them, as wool is in *England*. I have made ſeveral manufactures of it, which were the beſt of the kind I have ſeen. They likewiſe mix their Cotton with Wool, and make a cloth of it, which is the beſt wear they have in their climate. Thus it is as neceſſary to get Cotton from theſe colonies, to prevent their manufactures, as to ſupply thoſe of *England*. The Cotton I have uſed there grew in the latitude of *Smyrna*, and parts adjacent, from which the *Turkey* Cotton is brought to *England*; it is of the ſame kind with that, but is of a much better and longer ſtaple, if it is rightly cultivated; the ſtaple indeed is not ſo long as the *Weſt India* Cotton, but it is whiter, and wears white, when the other turns yellow, as I have found by experience, with many others. Some of this Cotton from *Virginia* was ſent to *Manchester* in the year 1746, where it ſold for eighteen pence a pound, the price of the beſt at that time; and the workmen who had it for a tryal, reported to the merchants who ſent it to them, it was as good as any they had, and that they would take any quantities of it. Upon this, ſeveral tryals were made of planting Cotton both there and in *Carolina*, as a ſtaple commodity to ſend to *Britain*; but notwith-

ſtanding the high price it bore at that time, which was double its uſual value, the quantity they made was ſo ſmall, that it would hardly quit coſt, and turned to no account; although the old Tobacco grounds on which this was planted, are the beſt lands for Cotton, of any in that part of the world, or perhaps in any other. Cotton is a commodity of very ſmall value, and a poor ſtaple for any one colony, and much more for ſo many; although the nation wants 1,800,000 weight of Cotton a year, yet at a ſhilling a pound, it is worth but 90,000 *l*; and if they were to make it in any quantities, it would ſoon fall to its uſual price of ninepence, and would not clear them above 50,000*l*. a year, which is not ſixpence a head for all the people in *North America*. It is for this reaſon, that they are obliged to manufacture their Cotton, and we can never expect to get either that or Hemp and Flax from them, till they have many other commodities, that may enable them to live, and purchaſe their neceſſaries with theſe; they might then make both Cotton, Hemp and Flax for *Britain*, and as much of the firſt as would ſupply the nation; but to ſettle any other colonies, ſuch as *Florida*, in order to make Cotton, is to oblige all the reſt to manufacture it, which would hinder them to make both that and many other commodities of more value.

The next commodity propoſed for the ſtaple of theſe colonies is *Indigo*, which thrives but very

very indifferently either in the ſoil or climate. Indigo is one of thoſe rank weeds, like Tobacco, which not only exhauſt the ſubſtance of the earth, but require the very beſt and richeſt lands, and ſuch as have a natural moiſture in them; whereas the lands in our Southern colonies are extreamly poor and ſandy, and have a barren drineſs in them, which renders them very unfit to produce ſuch a crop as this to any manner of advantage. This is planted by the *French* on the freſh wood-lands of St. *Domingo*, which are too rich and moiſt even for ſugar, and is intended to exhauſt their luxuriant fertility, as we do with Tobacco, in order to render them fit for that and other crops. They likewiſe cut it every ſix weeks, or eight times in a year, and for two years together; whereas in *Carolina* it is cut but thrice, and as the land has not ſubſtance and moiſture to make it ſhoot after cutting, and the ſummers are too ſhort, the third cutting is but of little value, as even the ſecond is in *Virginia*; neither does the ſoil or climate ſeem to be fit to yield that rich juice, which makes this dye, in any plenty or perfection. The *French* and *Spaniards* make great quantities of Indigo worth eight and ten ſhillings a pound, when the little we make in *Carolina* is not upon an average worth above two ſhillings, and a great deal has been ſold for a ſhilling, and leſs. This is therefore far from being ſo rich and valuable a commodity in *North America*, as many imagine; although it is of great ſervice in the Rice colonies, and helps them

them to keep up their plantations, by making a ſmall quantity of Indigo with their Rice; and on ſome few ſpots of better lands it turns to more account.

From this brief account of theſe commodities it muſt appear, that they can never be the general and laſting ſtaple of any colony we have in all *North America*; which would be ſtill much more evident, if at the ſame time we conſider the ſtate of their Agriculture in other more neceſſary and eſſential articles, the neceſſaries of life. Wherever they have planted theſe commodities, their lands are ſo exhauſted by them, that they will hardly produce the bare neceſſaries of life, and much leſs ſuch exhauſting weeds as theſe. The earth was made to produce Corn and Graſs, or the neceſſaries of life, for the ſupport of mankind, and not ſuch poiſonous weeds as Tobacco, Indigo, Hemp, and Flax, which ſtarve every thing upon it, inſtead of ſupplying them with all their neceſſaries, as many expect they ſhould. It is for this reaſon, that the Farmers and Landlords in *England* will not let any ſuch weeds come upon their lands, if they can avoid it. But theſe are ſtill more improper for the light ſandy and ſhallow ſoil in *North America*, which, compared to the lands in *England*, is like ſand compared to clay, eſpecially in all our Southern colonies, which alone produce theſe or any thing elſe for *Britain*. Theſe their lands are the ſooneſt exhauſted by culture of any that are to be ſeen, while nothing could exhauſt

exhauſt them ſooner than theſe weeds, and *Indian* Corn. A field planted with Tobacco, and then with *Indian* Corn, is as bare as a ſandy deſert, and hardly produces a blade of graſs, although it has much more manure laid upon it, than for any thing that grows. It is for this reaſon, that moſt of our Tobacco plantations are broke up; the people have been obliged to quit them many years ago, after all their charges and improvements upon them; and to retire to the mountains, where they find ſome freſh lands fit to produce that commodity, which are the ſupport of the Tobacco Trade: but theſe will in a ſhort time be worn out, as the reſt have been, and when that happens, there muſt be an end of the Tobacco Trade, without a ſupply of freſh lands, fit to produce that exhauſting weed, as well as to maintain cattle to manure them, with convenient ports and an inland navigation to ſhip off ſuch a groſs and bulky commodity; of which there are none in all the *Britiſh* dominions in *North America*, but thoſe rich lands on the *Miſſiſippi* and *Ohio*; whoever are poſſeſſed of theſe muſt ſoon command the Tobacco Trade, the only conſiderable branch of Trade in all *North America*, and the only one that this nation has left. By that means we may loſe the Tobacco Trade, as we did that of Sugar, after the treaty of *Utrecht*.

If we were to know the ſituation of theſe colonies in other reſpects, and to conſider only the Corn and Graſs they bear, we would never

expect them to live by the planting of ſuch commodities as theſe. Such light and ſandy lands, in hot climates, never bear good Graſs, and much leſs in *North America*; where they are generally covered with Pines, which deſtroy what little Graſs the earth might otherwiſe produce, and render every thing that grows upon it ſo ſour, that nothing will taſte it, unleſs they are reduced to their laſt ſhift. In a *Pine barren*, there is not a blade of Graſs to be ſeen, nor any thing elſe that is green *, and it is at the beſt but very ſcarce in all our ſouthern colonies. A blade of *Engliſh Graſs*, as they call it,

* Theſe Pines, with which all our Southern colonies are covered, for 100 or 150 miles from the ſea coaſt, and in ſome all over them, are the moſt pernicious of all weeds; they not only deſtroy every thing upon the face of the earth, but the very land they grow upon; inſomuch that nothing will grow among them, and hardly any thing after them. It is a general obſervation, that the lands are not only barren, on which they grow naturally, but if they happen to come up on other lands, they ſpoil them, and render them more or leſs barren. Having often examined what this could be owing to, I could not attribute it altogether to their large ſpreading roots, which ſpread all over the ſurface of the earth like a mat, and exhauſt its ſubſtance; but chiefly to the ſtrong acid juice of their leaves, which diſtills from them in the ſpring of the year, like oil of turpentine, and poiſons both the earth, and every thing upon it; as it is well known, that all acids are a poiſon to vegetables, and all alkalies a rich manure. But whatever may be the cauſe, the matter of fact is certain, that nothing will grow among Pines in *America*, and Mr. *Du Hamel* makes the ſame obſervation in *France*. The whole ſurface of the earth is covered with their acid leaves; they overtop and deſtroy every thing; and if a little Graſs

it, that is, any ſort that is *green*, is as great a rarity there, as the moſt curious of their plants are here. Their paſtures are covered with a tall rank weed, more like *Bent* than *paſture graſs*;

Graſs ſhould happen to come up among them, where they grow thin; it is ſo ſcarce, yellow, and ſour, that to ſee any beaſt feed upon it, is a certain ſign of the miſerable poverty of a country; where they are reduced to the laſt extremity. Yet theſe are the only paſtures they have in many of our colonies, and eſpecially in *Florida*, if it be not in the miry and deſtructive ſwamps and marſhes.

What is worſe, theſe pernicious weeds are not to be extirpated; they have a wing to their ſeed, which diſperſes it every where with the winds like thiſtles, and in two or three years forms a *pine thicket*, which nothing can paſs through, nor live in. Thus the land becomes a perfect deſert, inſtead of a profitable paſture, in a few years after it is cleared.—Corn upon ſuch lands looks as yellow as the turpentine with which it is fed, and Graſs will not grow, without which neither man nor beaſt can ſubſiſt.—But in all our ſpeculations about the colonies, we ſeem never to conſider the neceſſaries of life, or Corn and Graſs, otherwiſe we ſhould never think of planting colonies in countries which produce neither.—Upon ſuch poor and mean lands, all that the poor people can do, is only to get the bare neceſſaries of life, every one for themſelves, without any regard to the public, or benefit to the nation, as we may ſee in all the colonies we have.

They can only get the neceſſaries of life in any of theſe Southern parts of *North America* by means of Rice, and are daily obliged to run the riſque of their lives in clearing the deſtructive ſwamps, in order to get Rice to ſupply the place of Wheat, and to have paſturage on the low grounds, neither of which the uplands afford. This was the occaſion of planting Rice in *Carolina*, where they already make more than they can well vend, as it is a commodity not wanted in *Britain*; and to ſettle any more ſuch colonies, as *Florida*,

graſs; which is as dry as a ſtick, and as yellow as ſtraw, inſomuch that nothing will taſte it. This their common paſture graſs is ſo rank, hard and dry, that they make their brooms of it, as they do here with heath or birchen rods, and know it by no other name in moſt of the colonies but *Broom-ſtraw*. Such is the produce of their ſtrongeſt and beſt lands; as for the poor and ſandy ſoils, which make nine tenths of the whole in our ſouthern colonies, they are thinly covered with a ſmall ſort of this graſs, if it may be ſo called, like *Bent*, and do not afford a bite for a beaſt for miles together. Such is the produce of that "fertile continent," as it is called *, which ſhews the very picture of poverty in every beaſt upon it. Their low grounds and marſhes again are covered with

is only to interfere with the others, to depreciate their ſtaple, and to oblige them all to enter into Manufactures.—Where they have not Rice, their only dependance is upon *Indian* Corn and *Spaniſh* Potatoes, which are but a coarſe food, and bad diet, in theſe intemperate and ſickly climates, and add to the mortality which otherwiſe reigns in them.—— Neither can they cure proviſions, ſo as to keep for any time; but without ſalt proviſions it is impoſſible to live on plantations, where they have no markets, and freſh proviſions will not keep for four and twenty hours, from the heat and moiſture of the climate, which is the caſe in all our Southern colonies in ſummer.—Hence the *Spaniards* never had the bare neceſſaries of life, in 170 years that they were poſſeſſed of *Florida*, but were obliged to purchaſe them from our colonies, at the public expence of the nation, and not from the produce of the lands, as we are likewiſe obliged to do.

* Regulations of the Colonies.

nothing

nothing but *Reeds*, *Ruſhes*, and *Flags*, which are their meadow grounds that ſhould ſupply the want of graſs on their uplands. The hay they mow is nothing but the *three ſquare ruſh*, unleſs it is raiſed by art, at a greater expence than it is worth. The riches of *England* proceed from the plenty of graſs, and the poverty of the colonies from the want of that original ſource both of plenty and wealth.

A ſoil and climate which produce ſo little graſs, can never abound in Corn, which is but another ſort of graſs, and requires the ſame ſoil. Lands which abound with one, are always fruitful in the other, *& vice verſa*. Such Lands are as improper for wheat, which requires a ſtrong loamy ſoil, that is ſomewhat moiſt, as they are for Hemp and Flax, eſpecially [illegible] hot climate. Wheat thrives in this part of the world from *Egypt* to the middle of *Ruſſia*, for thirty degrees of latitude; whereas in *North America* its growth is chiefly confined to ſeven degrees, and it cannot be ſaid to thrive well but within four degrees, from *New-York* to the ſouthern parts of *Virginia*, or from the forty-firſt to the thirty-ſeventh degree of latitude *. It was but very lately, ſince they have endeavoured to ſow ſome wheat in the inland parts of *South Carolina*, with uncertain ſucceſs, that they ever had

* To give a due account of the Corn and Graſs of *North America*, would require a treatiſe of itſelf. On account of the long and hard winters, and backward ſprings, Wheat

had a grain to the ſouthward of the middle of *North Carolina*; and to the northward of *New-*

does not grow till the exceſſive heats of ſummer come on, by which it is drawn up before it has a root and ſtrength to ſupport it, and produces much ſtraw, but little Corn. The Corn grows in theſe violent heats of ſummer, by which it often *ſhrivels*, when it ſhould *fill*, and comes to nothing. The harveſt is two or three months later than it ſhould be, as we have ſaid. About *Boſton* the Wheat harveſt is not before the middle of *September*, but about *Perpignan* in *Spain*, which lie exactly in the ſame latitude, and in the ſame ſituation, ſurrounded by mountains on the Weſt, with the ſea to the Eaſt; the Wheat harveſt is always between the 12th and 24th of *June*, as we are informed from the beſt authority, Mr. *Du Hamel*, in his *Elemens d'Agriculture*. So in all our other colonies to the Southward, the harveſt is from three to two months later than in the parallel climates. In the Northern parts the Corn is frequently ſeized with a froſt in the middle of ſummer, and totally blaſted; or the thick winter fogs which happen in ſummer, ſucceeded by ſcorching blinks of ſunſhine in theſe Southern latitudes, burſt the grain when it is in milk, and produce a *ſmut*, which is reckoned very unwholeſome and poiſonous. It is for this reaſon, that Dr. *Douglas* tells us, the Wheat in *New-England* frequently caſts black, and more ſo the farther North you go to *Nova Scotia*, occaſioned by this black ſmut.

For theſe reaſons they are obliged to give a bounty on the growing of Wheat in *New-England*, we are told, and do not make Corn to eat. This they purchaſe with rum and molaſſes, on which we lay a duty of 50 *per cent.*; which muſt appear to be very grievous in a country that does not produce *Corn to eat*, nor any thing to purchaſe it.—In the other colonies indeed they have plenty of Corn, and no ſuch occaſion for the Molaſſes Trade.—The beſt Wheat in *North America* grows in *Maryland*, with the adjacent parts of *Penſylvania* on one ſide, and of *Virginia* on the other, which is the center both of the beſt ſoil and climate for Wheat

New-England, they have none but the *French Bled marſais*, as we have ſaid. In the northern parts wheat is conſtantly ſubject to a *blaſt*, or *ſmut*, and in the ſouthern to the *ruſt*. At the beſt, the grain is ſo ſmall, that it yields very little, at leaſt a third leſs than the lands do in *England*. Thirty buſhels to an acre here, is as uſual as twenty there. The *Portugueſe* who buy the wheat of the northern colonies call it *Palillas, chopt ſtraw*; by which they mean a ſmall ſort of wheat, like the one here mentioned that grows in *Canada*, which is ſtill worſe than the reſt. If it were not for *Indian* Corn, which exhauſts lands much more than any other grain, theſe colonies would not have Corn to eat. Their Barley is but a poor hungry grain, and oats are lean and chaffy. Thus we ſeem not to conſider, what it is to live in countries which produce ſo little or no grain, and where no ſort of Corn agrees with the climate, if it be not one which exhauſts their lands, more than they will bear; a thing which none in *England* ſeem to have the leaſt idea of, and for that reaſon they are ſo little acquainted with

Wheat of any in that Continent; and as the Tobacco plantations are now broke up, they produce great quantities of good Wheat, with which they ſupply the reſt of the colonies both on the Continent and the Iſlands, and export great quantities to *Europe*; which is better than what uſed to be exported from the Northern colonies, and will be much more conſiderable, unleſs they are otherwiſe employed, by ſome ſuch methods as are hereafter propoſed.

the

the condition and circumſtances of the colonies in the moſt material points. It is for this reaſon, that they are obliged to quit their plantations, as faſt as they wear out, and to ſpread over a whole country and continent, in order to get a few patches of tobacco, or fields of *Indian* Corn. And it is for theſe reaſons, that Corn has become ſo dear in the colonies, and more valuable to make than any thing for *Britain*; which is a certain ſign, that they either want to extend their ſettlements, or to alter their ſtaple commodities, if not both.

So ſoon as they come to be confined in their ſettlements, as they already are by the mountains which ſurround them, and by the proclamation of *October* 7th, 1763, they muſt leave off planting any of theſe their ſtaple commodities for *Britain*; in order to get Corn to eat, for the daily increaſe of people. When they double their numbers, as they will ſoon do, and theſe countries come to be populous, they muſt purchaſe all thoſe commodities that we have mentioned, which require a rich and fruitful ſoil, and many others which they ſtand in need of. This they will have no way to do, but by their manufactures, which will render a trade in them abſolutely neceſſary, unleſs they increaſe their ſtaple commodities, and the produce of their lands. Unleſs they do that, their ſtaple will be the ſame with that of *Britain*, as we have ſaid, and nothing but Corn, Cattle, Wool, and Fiſh, which they cannot

cannot ſend to *Britain*, and muſt vend in foreign countries. But the ſupplying of themſelves with their own neceſſaries, independant of *Great Britain*; a trade in their own manufactures; and the relying upon other powers for the vent of their products, it is to be feared, will occaſion a breach between them and their mother country; unleſs it is prevented in time, and before their manufactures are eſtabliſhed, as they ſoon will be, if they are not already. So ſoon as this happens, the manufacturers will conſume the produce of the lands, and cut off all their returns to *Britain*; and the colonies will neceſſarily be obliged to interfere with her both in agriculture, manufactures, trade and navigation, and the fiſhery of *Newfoundland*, all the moſt material and eſſential employments of the nation at home; and may thereby become rather a prejudice, than any benefit to their mother country.—We ſeem not to conſider, or to foreſee, the power of numbers in the colonies, and the daily increaſe of the people; or at leaſt to make any proviſion for ſuch an additional number of *Britiſh* ſubjects, which might otherwiſe be the greateſt advantage to the nation, if they were rightly employed for its benefit.

In order to prevent this threatening and alarming ſtate of the colonies, it is propoſed to take a yearly account of their Manufactures; which can only add farther confuſion to the late diſturbances, unleſs at the ſame time we

pay

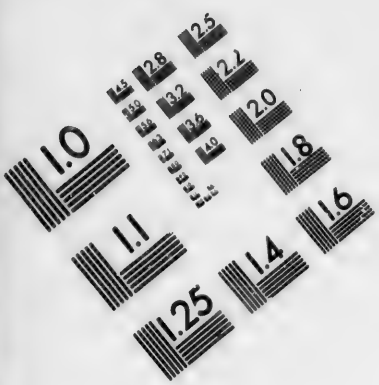
pay due regard to their ſtaple commodities, and ſee that they make the neceſſary improvements in theſe; by which alone they can either purchaſe their Manufactures from *Britain*, or ſubſiſt without them. In the climate of *North America* people cannot go without cloaths, neither can they get the neceſſaries of life without tools; of which two alone their whole income would not purchaſe, from *Britain*, even a fourth part of what they want, not to mention any other articles. Theſe they can never purchaſe, and muſt make for their own uſe, without ſtaple commodities from the produce of their lands; by which likewiſe they ſupply the nation with thoſe commodities, of which it is in the greateſt want. It ſignifies nothing to ſay, they cannot, or ſhall not, make their own Manufactures; they neceſſarily muſt do it, ſo long as they have nothing to purchaſe them, or periſh for want of them. Their whole income would not purchaſe a ſixth part of their neceſſaries from *Britain*, as appears from a particular account of both, and may be ſeen by all.

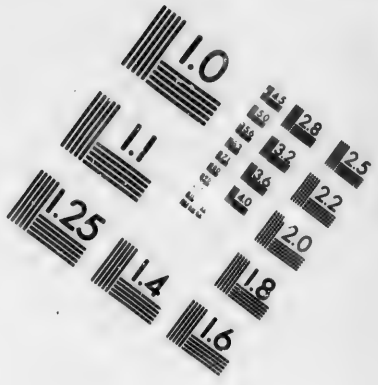
It is this ſtate of the colonies, which alarms every one in *Britain*, makes them imagine, they muſt become independant of their Mother Country, and may prove the ruin of it. For this reaſon many ſeem to have ſet themſelves againſt the colonies; but that is the way to make matters much worſe, and the breach unavoidable. We ought rather to conſider what

what this their ſtate proceeds from, and how it may be amended in time, now when it may be done. Unleſs this is done, the nation has been at the expence of ſeventy or eighty millions of money, for no other purpoſe but to loſe the benefit of her colonies, and to ruin herſelf; which, it is to be feared, may be the reſult of all the late proceedings concerning them. Many indeed imagine, that theſe proceedings have all been for the benefit of *Britain*, and that the colonies have oppoſed themſelves to her intereſt; but if the matter is duely conſidered, and rightly underſtood, the direct contrary of theſe ſuggeſtions muſt appear to every one, who is in the leaſt acquainted with them; and that we have done every thing in our power to ruin our own intereſt in *North America*, after the immenſe ſums it has coſt; and to oblige the colonies to become independant in the end, whether they will or not.

'We would therefore humbly recommend 'it to ſuch Gentlemen as are the guardians of 'the Trade of the nation,' ſays a very good judge *, 'that our own intereſt is not miſtaken 'for that of the planters; for every reſtraint 'and difficulty, put upon our Trade with 'them, makes them have recourſe to their own 'products which they manufacture; a thing 'of great conſequence to us, and ought to be 'guarded againſt:' And we would as humbly

* *Gee* on Trade, p. 152.





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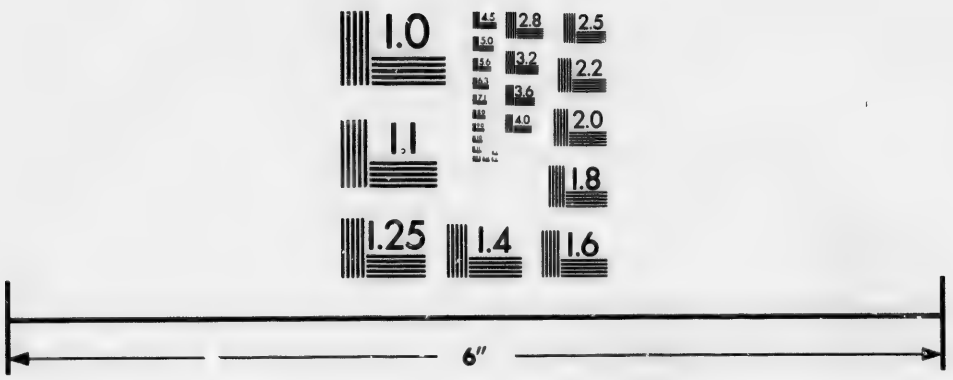

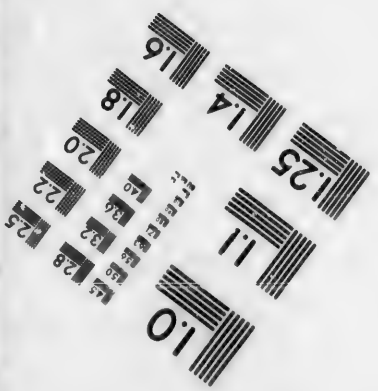

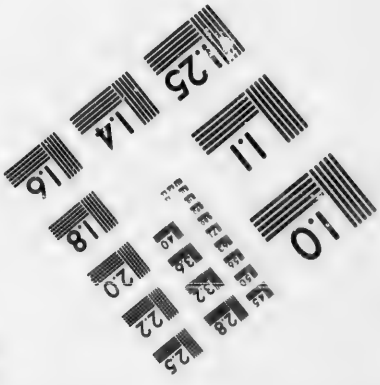

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recommend it to the colonies, that they would not miſtake their intereſt, for what they think to be intended only for the benefit of others. If they would both conſult their own intereſt, which one would think might be no difficult matter to make any people do, were it not for ſuch feuds and animoſities, and preconceived opinions and prejudices, which are directly contrary to the welfare of the whole nation both at home and abroad, the intereſt of *Great Britain* and her colonies would be mutual and inſeparable, and conſequently laſting and perpetual; and it is the deſign of this diſcourſe to point out the ways of eſtabliſhing both on ſuch a footing. The intereſt of *Britain* in the colonies depends upon their ſtaple commodities, or the produce of their lands, as that of the colonies does likewiſe; and as *Britain* is the beſt market in the world for ſuch commodities, it will always be their intereſt to depend upon their Mother Country, before any other Powers; not to mention her mild and auſpicious government, of which they could not poſſibly have ſuch another upon a Continent. However neceſſary Manufactures are to the colonies in their preſent ſituation, yet Agriculture would turn to much more account. Manufactures are the reſult of labor, which is both ſcarce and dear among them; but ſtaple commodities are the produce of lands, which are both cheap and in plenty; and for that reaſon it will always be more profitable to apply to the laſt than the firſt, providing they are allowed to make uſe of the

the vaſt plenty of lands in that Continent. They may likewiſe ſell the produce of their lands, and gain wealth by them, which they will not be allowed to do with Manufactures. And the more they make, the more we get from them, which is both their intereſt and ours. How can you expect to get any thing by a Trade with people who have nothing?

Now as the intereſt of the colonies and of their Mother Country is thus naturally connected, let us ſee what it is that divides them, and makes them thus at variance with one another, or likely to be diſunited. This may be ſummed up in one word; it proceeds from the want of ſtaple commodities to ſend to *Britain*, which their lands will not produce, and for that reaſon they are neceſſarily obliged to enter into Manufactures; they thereby interfere with their Mother Country, and their intereſt becomes oppoſite. Now if the cauſe of this is conſidered, it proceeds entirely from the want of lands, or a proper ſoil and climate, fit to produce ſuch commodities as *Britain* wants, and will take from them. The greateſt part of their lands will produce nothing but what *Britain* itſelf does, and on which ſhe relies, as Corn, Cattle, and Wool; by which means the colonies interfere with their Mother Country in Agriculture, as well as in Manufactures, and their intereſt will become ſo oppoſite by both, that it may occaſion a breach between them, unleſs due care is taken to prevent it, before the Manu-

factures of the colonies are thoroughly eſtabliſhed. Now there is no poſſible way to do this, but by ſupplying them with ſuch lands as will produce ſtaple commodities for *Britain*, for which the nation engaged in ſo expenſive a war.—This ſtate of the colonies has been foreſeen for many years, by all who were in the leaſt acquainted with them, and for that reaſon it was neceſſary to extend their ſettlements to ſuch lands, of which there are few or none in all the *Britiſh* dominions but thoſe on the *Miſſiſipi* and *Ohio*. No other part of all that continent, beyond the bounds of our preſent plantations, will ever be of any ſervice to this nation, or enable thoſe colonies to ſubſiſt by a dependance on their mother country without this, at leaſt as they increaſe and multiply. But we were no ſooner poſſeſſed of thoſe territories, for which the nation chiefly engaged in the war, than the colonies were excluded from them by the proclamation of *October* 7th, 1763, by which they are limited to the ſame bounds at the *Apalachean* mountains, which the *French* preſcribed to them before the war; and are obliged to enter into manufactures, for want of thoſe lands which alone will ever enable the greateſt part of them to purchaſe their neceſſaries from *Britain*.

Since the acquiſitions of *Canada* and *Florida*, indeed, the *Britiſh* dominions are ſo much enlarged, that no one ſeems to imagine, and others will not believe, that theſe colonies can want land; and yet it is very certain, if we have any regard

regard to the intereſt of *Great Britain* in them. They have juſt lands enough to ſupply themſelves and their manufacturers, but they hardly produce any thing that will ſerve to purchaſe their manufactures from *Britain*. By that means *Britain* confines her colonies to bounds, in which they muſt neceſſarily interfere with her, and excludes them from all thoſe territories, which might be of ſervice to her, and would keep the colonies from falling into the ſtate that we have repreſented. This is a matter of the laſt conſequence to this nation, and ought to be ſeriouſly conſidered, and attended to, as it will be found upon due inquiry, that the whole intereſt of *Great Britain* in *North America*, on which ſhe has expended ſuch immenſe ſums, entirely depends upon it. Although theſe colonies may go on for ſome time, upon the lands they poſſeſs, as they have hitherto done, which is but badly, yet in a few years, when their numbers will be double, they will hardly be able to take any thing from *Britain*, or to ſend any thing to her, at leaſt the materials of manufactures which are chiefly wanted from them. This muſt certainly appear to all who are acquainted with the countries which our colonies poſſeſs in *North America*, with the nature of the ſoil and climate, and what they produce, or with their agriculture, and ſtaple commodities; but as theſe are ſo little underſtood, they require a more particular conſideration, eſpecially in the ſouthern colonies; where every thing muſt be made

made that this nation wants from *North America*. Now all the colonies on the continent make three different countries, as we have ſaid, the ſtate of which with regard to their ſtaple commodities is in brief as follows.

I. The northern colonies produce nothing wanted in *Britain*, and are entirely unfit for that purpoſe, as appears not only from the nature and reaſon of things, but from 150 years experience—Neither the ſoil nor climate will admit of any ſuch improvements, and there is nothing to be done againſt nature.—The length and ſeverity of the winters, the late and backward ſprings, and ſhortneſs of the ſummer ſeaſon, are unavoidable obſtacles to all ſuch improvements in agriculture. — Were they to make any thing but the neceſſaries of life, in their ſhort ſummers, they would all periſh in their long and hard winters.—The winters laſt for five or ſix months, and longer in the northern parts; the ſnow lies four or five feet deep; and the cold is twenty degrees greater, even at the town of *New-York* on the warmer ſea coaſt, than the moſt intenſe cold felt in *England* during the hard winter 1739-40 *.—In the

* By the obſervations made in *January* 1765, by the maſters of the college at *New-York*, *Fahrenheit*'s thermometer fell 6 degrees below 0, which is 21 degrees below 15, the greateſt cold in *England*.—Water then froze inſtantly, and even ſtrong liquors in a very ſhort time.—And we are told, it is not unuſual there, to ſee a glaſs of water ſet upon the table, in a warm room, freeze before you can drink it, &c.

inland

inland parts again the cold is much more intenſe, and they have froſts the whole year, even in the middle of ſummer; which have been obſerved by many in the month of *July*, upon the mountains in the moſt ſouthern parts of *Penſylvania*, and even on the mountains of *Virginia*, although they are but very low.

This ſtate of theſe colonies proceeds from the climate, which is much worſe than is generally apprehended. Theſe ſevere colds are occaſioned by the violent north-weſt winds, blowing from the frozen regions of *Hudſon*'s Bay, which rage with ſuch fury all over that continent, that they bring the climate of *Hudſon*'s Bay even to *Virginia* and *Carolina* by one blaſt; and as theſe winds blow with great violence about the vernal and autumnal equinoxes, they occaſion a ſecond winter, as it is called, at that time of year, when we ſhould expect a warm ſpring in the latitude of theſe northern colonies, which lie between 40 and 43 degrees; this protracts the ſeaſon of winter to the middle almoſt of ſummer; and the ſame winds bring on winter again in the middle of autumn; by which they have a very unfavourable ſeaſon both in ſpring and autumn, in ſeed time and harveſt, as would abundantly appear from a due account of the particulars, of which we can here only give a general view. In the town of *Philadelphia*, which lies in the 40th degree of latitude, to the ſouthward of *Naples* and *Madrid*, I ſaw the winter ſet in with a

violent north-weſt wind, a hard froſt, and ice of a conſiderable thickneſs, on the 10th of *September*.

In *Canada* and *Nova Scotia* again the ſnow lies *ſix feet* deep for *ſix months* in the year! and as they have hard froſts and ſnows for a month or ſix weeks before this ſevere ſeaſon, which they call winter, their winters are eight or nine months long; they have little or no ſpring or autumn ſeaſon; the ſpring does not begin before the month of *June*; and even in that month our people who reſided at *Oſwego*, in the moſt ſouthern part of all *Canada*, obſerved hard froſts which deſtroyed every thing at that time of year; and the like froſts in the month of *June* are ſometimes felt on the warmer ſea coaſts of *New-England*, to the ſouthward of that. Theſe froſts continue all over *Canada* during the whole ſummer; "it is no rare thing there, to ſee a "froſt at night after a very hot day in ſum-"mer *;" and "I have ſeen as hard froſts "there on the firſt of *Auguſt*," ſays the beſt hiſtorian of *Canada*, "as you will ſee in "*France* at All-ſaints †," &c ‡.—When they have

* Charlevoix Hiſt. N. France, Tom. v. p. 246.

† La Potherie Hiſt. de l'Amerique Septentrionale, Tom. i. p. 281.

‡ "The winter commonly ſets in before the ſhips ſail for *France*, and begins with a violence which aſtoniſhes all who are not accuſtomed to it. The firſt froſts fill the rivers with ice in a few days, and immediately the earth is covered with ſnow, which laſts *ſix months*, and always riſes to the heighth

have not theſe froſts, they are ſubject to more pernicious cold winter fogs, which deſtroy the fruits of the earth, in the middle of ſummer, particularly about the great lakes, and in *Nova Scotia*, which is only the ſea coaſt of *Canada*; and they are not entirely free from them in a great

height of *ſix feet*, where the wind will ſuffer it to lie.—The cold becomes extreme, and encroaches upon the beſt part of the ſpring.—It is then a melancholy thing not to be able to go out of doors, unleſs you are muffled up with furs like the bears.—There is no longer any difference between land and water; the very trees are covered with hoar froſts, and are loaded with ſuch icicles, that it is dangerous to be nigh them—What can any one think, where *the very bears dare not ſhew their face to the weather for ſix months in the year!* where icicles a foot long hang to the horſes beards! and where I never knew a winter paſs, but ſome or other were brought to the hoſpital to have their legs and arms cut off, which were mortified with the froſt!—If the weather is clear, there blows ſuch a wind from the Weſt, that it cuts the face like a razor; and if it veers about to the South or Eaſt, there falls ſuch a ſnow, that you cannot ſee ten ſteps before you at noon-day.—Theſe colds are much more intenſe there, than they were in *France* during the hard winter 1709.—The inconveniencies of theſe long and ſevere colds are not to be remedied. The firſt is, the charge of maintaining cattle, which cannot get the leaſt morſel in the fields during the whole winter. To avoid the expence of keeping them, they are obliged to kill them in *October*, and keep their meat frozen from that to *May*, &c." *Charlevoix Hiſt. N. France*, tom. v. p. 242 *& ſeq.*

Theſe extream colds, which are felt more or leſs all over *North America*, proceed from the northern ſnowy mountains, which ſpread all over that continent, from *Baffins* Bay to *New-England*, and render the climate unfit for any purpoſe, but to produce a few Furs, which are exhauſted.—Theſe mountains are covered with ſnow throughout the whole year, and occaſion froſts even in the middle of ſummer—Hence all the continent north of *Quebec*, and the

great part of *New-England* and *New-York*.—Hence they can neither plow, ſow, nor reap, in the proper ſeaſon for either; but are obliged to plow their lands in *Auguſt* or *September*, and cannot

river St. *Laurence* below it, are uninhabitable—"One "cannot ſee a more ſavage country, and no part of the "earth is more uninhabitable," ſays *Charlevoix*—"Theſe "are mere deſarts, on both ſides of the river St. *Laurence*, "uninhabited by beaſt or bird," ſays *Champlain*, "on "account of the ſevere colds which reign there."—Thus *Quebec* is the firſt part of *North America* that is inhabitable, from which we may form an opinion of it.—"The ſnow "lies 15 feet deep in the town; the ice is 10 feet thick; "your eyelids are frozen in walking the ſtreets; and peo- "ple are found dead with the cold about the town;" with many other marks of the moſt inhoſpitable climate recorded by the *French* hiſtorians *Champlain*, *La Potherie*, *le Beau*, *Charlevoix*, &c.

Upon theſe accounts both *Canada* and *Nova Scotia* are uninhabitable, without good accommodations, and freſh proviſions, as appeared for nigh a century at the firſt ſettlement of theſe countries. Hence we are at all this expence both of men and money, to keep up accommodations for an enemy, and thereby enable them to hold the country, which they could not otherwiſe do. Were they evacuated, the climate would "defend, protect and ſecure them," much better than our forts and garriſons, which put the nation to ſuch an expence, and have created ſuch diſturbances both at home and abroad. But if *Canada* were evacuated, it would be of leſs conſequence than we ſee *Cape Breton* and *Louiſburg* are; which were of more importance, but are now of none by being diſmantled.

The whole of *Canada*, from *Quebec* to *Montreal*, is not above 150 miles in length, and about ſix broad, in a ſtraight line, which makes but 900 ſquare miles, not ſo much as a middle-ſized county in *England*, ſuch as *Eſſex*, and is certainly not worth poſſeſſing in ſuch a climate. The reſt is nothing but frozen lakes, drowned moraſſes, and ſandy plains, fit only for the habitation of Beavers; or

cannot ſow them till the month of *May* the next year; when they muſt be very unfit to receive ſeed.—" Properly ſpeaking, they have " but two ſeaſons in the year, winter and " autumn."

or bare rocks and mountains covered with ſnow throughout the whole year.

Canada was only a place of arms for *France*, or a factory for the Fur-trade; but *Britain* has no manner of uſe or occaſion for either.—Our other colonies are more convenient to the Fur-trade by a thouſand miles than *Canada*; which can only interfere with them in it, and deprive them of returns to *Britain*, of which they have no other.

It has indeed been given out, with every thing elſe, that *Canada* ſupplyed the *French* iſlands; but ſo far from that, it conſumed their ſupplies, which for that reaſon they were obliged to get from our colonies, and may now have from *France*. It was a conſtant complaint in *France*, that *Canada* and *Cape Breton* conſumed their proviſions which they wanted at home; and it appears from the remonſtrance of the ſtates of *Bourdeaux* to the king on *Jan.* 7th, 1763, that this ſingle town ſupplyed them with great quantities of flour and other proviſions, although St. *Malo*, *Havre*, *Dieppe*, &c. had the chief part of that trade. But now when they have both *Ireland* and all our colonies to ſupply them, they pretend to export Corn. *New-England* does the ſame, but imports four times as much.

But as our ſubject is Agriculture, for which theſe frozen deſerts are unfit, and conſequently for colonies which ſhould live merely by their agriculture, we can give no farther account of them here. All that they can be ſaid to produce, is only a diminutive ſpecies of Corn, which is not worth ſowing any where elſe: and even this, if they could make any quantities of it, would only interfere with the agriculture of *Britain*, and that in the moſt material part of it, the ſupplying of the fiſhery. It is ſurpriſing, that any ſhould reckon this an advantage to *Britain*, when Corn has become almoſt the only ſtaple of all our colonies on the continent.—Were it not for the fiſhery, none could live in theſe northern parts of *America*—Hence they are obliged to feed both man and beaſt in *Canada* with frozen eels, " which are the manna of the land," ſay the *French*.

" autumn *."—Thus they have neither ſpring nor ſummer, after the hard winter; " which " is very long, and the cold intenſe. If you ſtir " out in the froſt, you are in danger of periſh- " ing in a quarter of an hour; and the ſnow " fails ſo heavy, that it frequently lies four " feet deep in four and twenty hours;" † meaning in *St. John*'s Iſland on the warmer ſea-coaſt. Such countries muſt be very unfit for Agriculture, and conſequently for colonies; which ſhould live merely by their Agriculture, or become a prejudice to their Mother Country; which theſe muſt undoubtedly be, as would abundantly appear from a due account of them, which we cannot pretend to give in the narrow

' The whole income of *Canada* was but 650,000 livres ' a year (about 30,000 *l.* ſterling) which is far from being ' ſufficient to ſupply 30,000 people with their neceſſaries ' from *France*—Hence the greateſt part are naked *(la plus ' part vont-ils tout nuds)* others are covered with deer ſkins ' like the ſavages; and others pick old clothes to pieces to ' ſpin with flax—The produce of their lands will not main- ' tain them, ſo that they live by hunting. Many gentle- ' men have no other way to live at their eaſe—The king ' maintains a great part of the country, by penſions. ' 400,000 crowns a year which his majeſty ſends to *Canada* ' are a great reſource—The king expends there 300,000 ' livres a year; the furs come to 280,000; oil and other ' ſmall articles to 20,000; and the penſions and revenues ' of the clergy in *France* amount to 50,000; which makes ' 650,000 livres a year, the whole income of *Canada*.' *Charlevoix*, Tom. iv. p. 131, &c. *La Potherie*, i. 367.—Thus the whole produce of the country was but 300,000 livres a year, not 14,000 *l.* ſterling—and by ſettling the country we deſtroy the furs, and diminiſh thus its produce, ſmall as it is.

* Letters on *Cape Breton* and St. *John*'s iſland, p. 7.

† *Id. ibid.* p. 96.

bounds of a pamphlet; that muſt be reſerved for ſome other opportunity.

Beſides the climate, the beſt and freſh lands in all our Northern colonies, which ſhould produce their ſtaple commodities for *Britain*, are worn out by culture. Had they been able to have made any ſuch thing, they would have done it at firſt, as in the other colonies, when their lands were freſh and fertile, and fit for the purpoſe, which they are not in any part of *North America*, after they have been exhauſted. They are obliged to expend their manure on their Corn and Graſs grounds; their plantations are too ſmall to make *ſtaple commodities*; and they have many populous towns, which take off and conſume the produce of the lands, that ſhould be ſent to *Britain*. Hence the produce of theſe colonies is only the overplus of the Corn and Proviſions, which they make for their own uſe, which is not a great deal; and in a ſhort time will be little or none at all, as the people increaſe and multiply. There are nigh a million and an half of people in theſe Northern colonies, in a country no larger than *Ireland*, and not by a fourth part ſo fruitful. What then can they poſſibly have to raiſe *ſterling caſh* to pay taxes, when they have neither ſtaple commodities from their Agriculture, Manufactures, nor a Trade in them? Or how can it be ſuppoſed, that they can ever purchaſe their neceſſaries from *Britain*? Their only dependance is upon a Trade to the *Weſt-Indies*, or the Fur-trade; the laſt of which is very inconſiderable,

ſiderable, and daily declines; the firſt has been long ago inſufficient to maintain ſuch a number of people; and is reduced to little or nothing by the great increaſe of the people, the addition of more Northern colonies, and by the Southern engaging in it. If theſe things are conſidered, it will be impoſſible for theſe colonies to take almoſt any thing from *Britain*, or to have any connection with her, when they become more populous, unleſs they extend their ſettlements to the Southward. For this every one blames the colonies; but it is not their fault, it is their very great misfortune; this their ſtate proceeds from a barren land and inhoſpitable climate, for which they are to be pitied and aſſiſted, and not blamed and oppreſſed. The fault lies at their door, who ſettle colonies in ſuch countries, which will produce nothing; and will ſtill ſettle more ſuch to interfere both with them and their Mother Country *.

II. The

* We cannot enter into particulars here, but from theſe hints any, who are acquainted with the colonies, may perceive,

I. That it can never be for the intereſt of *Britain* to have any more *northern colonies*—They can never ſubſiſt by a dependance on her without ſtaple commodities, to remit to *Britain*, which none of theſe Northern parts of *America* will ever produce. To ſettle any more, therefore, ſuch as *Canada* and *Nova Scotia*, is to be at the expence both of men and money, to raiſe colonies which cannot ſubſiſt by a dependance on their Mother Country, and to add to the number and ſtrength of thoſe which are already in that ſituation.

II. The chief ſtaple and ſupport of theſe Northern colonies, for which they were all ſettled, was the Fur Trade, but the Furs are now in a manner exhauſted, with the *Indians* who got them; the whole Fur Trade does not exceed 40,000 *l.*

II. The Tobacco colonies enjoy a better ſoil and climate, and have by that means hitherto had a good ſtaple commodity, which has been of more ſervice to the nation than all the other products of *North America* put together, ſo long as their lands were freſh and fertile; but moſt

40,000 *l.* a year, which is not ſufficient to maintain any one of theſe colonies, and is nothing for ſuch a number of people, as is in them all. This is properly the ſtaple of *New-York*, without which they can make few remittances to *Britain*, and that *Canada* can only ſerve to deprive them of, and to oblige them to ſupply themſelves independant of their Mother Country.

III. So the ſtaple of *New-England*, and ſource of all their remittances to *Britain*, is the fiſhery, in which *Nova Scotia* muſt interfere with thoſe populous and powerful colonies; and by being ſo much more convenient to it, that colony can only ſerve to ruin the fiſhery both of *Old* and *New England*.

IV. It has been long ago remarked by Sir *Joſiah Child*, that ſettlements on theſe coaſts, adjacent to the fiſhery, only ſerve to hurt the fiſhery of *Britain*; of which we have a flagrant confirmation in *New England*, where upwards of thirty ſail of *Engliſh* ſhips a year uſed to fiſh on that coaſt, before it was ſettled, but ſince that we have not had a ſingle fiſhing ſhip there for many years. By theſe means the fiſhery of *Britain* has been reduced from 250 ſail of ſhips in a year to 70 or 80, and the nation is likely to loſe that great ſource of her maritime power, by creating new rivals, in place of thoſe which we have been at ſuch an expence to expell: and this is the more to be regarded, as the fiſhery of *France* is always four times as great as that of *Britain*, ſince they ſupply more than four times as many people, including their own and the other Catholicks in *Europe*. They likewiſe, by being deprived of ſettlements on theſe fiſhing coaſts, have their ſeamen and fiſhermen always at home, ready upon all emergencies, while ours are diſperſed in the woods of *America*, expoſed to every invader; and the nation loſes the profit of ſupplying them, fitting them out, &c.

moſt of them are worn out with that exhauſting weed, and will no longer bear it; they are then turned into Corn and Paſture grounds, which produce nothing but Corn, Cattle, and Wool, as in the Northern colonies; and we ſhall ſoon want a ſupply of lands for Tobacco, as much as for any thing that *North America* will produce. Theſe colonies likewiſe want ſome other ſtaple, as much as all the reſt, if not more. They have hitherto depended entirely upon Tobacco, and when that fails, they are in a worſe ſituation than the reſt. There are about 800,000 people in theſe two colonies, who do not make above 300,000 *l.* a year by their Tobacco, which is but ſeven ſhillings and ſix-pence a head *per annum.* This is far from being ſufficient to maintain ſuch a number of people, however it might have ſupported a few. Formerly they made three hogſheads of Tobacco a head, where they cannot now make one, while the people are four times as numerous, as we have ſaid. Take all the peo-

&c. which are the great advantages of the fiſhery—Thus *Britain* may be a loſer, and *France* a gainer, by depriving her of colonies which are rather a loſs and detriment than any benefit to their Mother Country—The only object in all theſe Northern parts of *America* is the fiſhery, and unleſs we have that, we get nothing by the country, but the cow to keep, and have her to maintain, while others get the milk—As for a ſecurity for the fiſhery, theſe ſettlements about it will require ten times more protection than they can give, and may be a ready way to loſe the fiſhery, as happened at *St. John*'s in *Newfoundland*—*Britain* muſt ſecure her dominions both at home and abroad by her fleets, which theſe ſettlements will weaken, and thereby deprive the nation of that ſecurity which they are intended to give.

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ple together in these colonies, they do not make above half an hogshead a head; there are 180,000 tythable people in them, who make at most but 90,000 hogsheads of Tobacco a year. Thus they must necessarily turn their lands into Corn and Pasture grounds, or get some other staple for them.

It is commonly alledged, and we see in all our histories of *Virginia*, that their lands are extremely rich and fertile, insomuch that it is imagined they will bear Tobacco, or Hemp, and Flax for ever: but although their lands, particularly in *Maryland*, and the Northern parts of *Virginia*, are by far the best of any in *North America*, on this side of the *Apalachean* mountains, they are far from being rich; the soil is in general very light, and so shallow, that it is soon worn out by culture, especially with such exhausting crops as *Indian* Corn and Tobacco. It is for this reason, that they are now obliged to sow Wheat, and exported fifty or sixty shiploads the last year.—One third of the country may be said to be a good and fruitful soil; a third part is but indifferent; and the remaining third is very poor and mean, although not quite barren—The Southern parts of *Virginia* are very poor and sandy, like *Carolina*, and all the Continent to the Southward, whence they will hardly bear Tobacco of any value.—These plantations are indeed capable of many improvements, and more than any of our other colonies, but they have never yet made any; and if ever they do, they must be some others than Hemp and Flax

for ſuch lands, which are worn out with *Indian* Corn and Tobacco. What theſe ſhould be, we ſhall hereafter conſider.

III. The next diviſion contains the Southern or Rice colonies, which make the great extent of the *Britiſh* dominions on this ſide of the *Apalachean* mountains; but it is the great misfortune of the nation, that this extenſive part of her dominions, which lies in a climate, that might otherwiſe produce every thing we want from *North America*, is as barren, as it is unhealthful, and unfit either to raiſe any conſiderable colonies, or to make any thing of conſequence in them; and for that reaſon theſe countries will require a more particular conſideration, as the whole intereſt of the nation lies in theſe ſouthern parts of that Continent. Both *North* and *South Carolina* are a low, flat, ſandy country, like a ſandy deſart, for a great diſtance from the ſea-coaſt, and the farther South we go to *Georgia* or *Florida*, it grows ſo much worſe. It is ſaid by the late Mr. *Cateſby* ‡, who was ſent to *America* on purpoſe to explore theſe Southern parts of the Continent, that a third part of *Carolina* is a *pine-barren*, or a ſandy deſart; and he, with many others, from whom we have had particular accounts of all theſe Southern parts of *North America*, have aſſured us, that the greateſt part of the reſt was little better. In the inland parts indeed, as he ſays, the country is more high and hilly, but the hills are nothing hardly but banks of ſand, rocks, or ſtones,

‡ Natural Hiſtory of *Carolina* and *Florida*.

t ſee Political Eſſays 4to pr by Strahan & Cadel 1772 pp 248–249 — with

with a few *Savannas*, or low meadow grounds which afford good paſturage in the vallies, which are called rich lands in *Carolina* §. It was for this reaſon, that although there were 800 people landed by the Lords Proprietors at once, on the 8th of *May*, 1663, in order to ſettle that country, more than ever were ſent to any of our colonies, yet the greateſt part of them ſoon abandoned it; their ſettlement at *Cape Fear* was broke up, and the Proprietors, after being at great expences, were at laſt glad to give up their advantageous and honourable charter. The people could not ſo much as ſubſiſt in the country; and for that reaſon deſerted it (as they have ſince done in *Georgia* and *Florida*), till they got a bag of Seed Rice from Mr. *Aſhby* in 1692, which has ever ſince been their only ſupport, and ſtaple of the country. For this purpoſe they quitted *North Carolina*, (which was firſt intended to be planted, but hardly has been to this day, if it be not by runaways and deſerters from the other colonies), and ſettled from *Charles-Town* to *Port Royal*; where the country is very low and flat, with great numbers of ſmall rivers and creeks, and ſwamps and marſhes on their borders, which are their Rice grounds, and only fruitful lands in the country. But the deep and richer ſwamps on the ſides of the large rivers are too expenſive to clear and drain, as they are found to be in *Virginia*.

§ *Id. ibid.* append. pag. iii, iv.

Thus all theſe extenſive Southern parts of *North America* produce little or nothing, and the lands are hardly worth cultivating, if it be not in the unhealthful and deſtructive ſwamps and marſhes; which they are obliged to be at the immenſe toil and fatigue of clearing, draining, and cultivating, at the riſque of their lives, in order to get Rice to ſupply the place of Wheat, and to have paſturage on the low grounds, neither of which the uplands afford ‡, as we have ſaid. Whatever any country may produce, the firſt thing muſt be Corn and Graſs; and it is to get theſe, that they plant Rice in *Carolina*, which is otherwiſe not ſo proper for a *Britiſh* colony, as it is but another ſort of Corn, not wanted in *Britain*. Out of an hundred and odd thouſand barrels of Rice which they make in a year, *Britain* conſumes but four thouſand; hence they want markets for this, as all our other colonies do for their other ſorts of Corn, which is become the chief produce of them all; they thereby interfere with one another, depreciate their ſtaple, cannot vend any quantities of it, and are on theſe accounts unable to make remittances to *Britain*, to pay their debts, or to purchaſe their neceſſaries from hence; which obliges them to enter into Manufactures, and to ſupply themſelves, independant of their Mother Country. We have known Rice ſo low in *Carolina*, that it

‡ See a deſcription of *South Carolina* in 1710.

was

was not worth making. To ſettle any more ſuch colonies then, as *Florida*, is only to ruin theſe, and the intereſt of *Britain* in them; unleſs you could get ſome other ſtaple for them, which the country will hardly admit of, if it be not ſilk, and that requires more hands than theſe unhealthful ſea-coaſts will breed. They are even glad to ſupply the *French* with Rice, in order to enable them to eſtabliſh a colony at *Cayenne*, to rival and outdo them, as they there make two crops of Rice in a year; and we have been told by ſome who have reſided in *Surinam*, that they can even make three, by which theſe two may ſoon undo *Carolina*. Many of our Rice plantations would have been broke up before this time, like the Tobacco plantations, if it had not been for the aſſiſtance of Indigo, which has ſupported them. This may be perceived by all who remember the ſtate they were in, when the bounty on Indigo was granted; before which we knew ſome people who were obliged to ſell their Rice at a ſhilling a hundred weight, in the late war; and if they had gone on to make as much as they could, without any other commodity or product of their lands, it would hardly have been worth more.

The Rice grounds in *North America* are more numerous and plentiful than in any part of the world, which is their great misfortune. The whole coaſt of *North America*, from *Delaware* Bay or *New Jerſey* to the Gulf of *Mexico*,

Mexico, in all the parts of that Continent which can ever produce any thing for *Britain*, is almoſt one continued tract of ſwamps and marſhes, or Rice grounds, with barren ſands between them, as in *Carolina*. The ſwamps of *Virginia* alone would produce much more Rice than all *Europe* and *America* conſume; and the Rice, that we have ſeen grow upon them, was nigh as large again as what is made on the poor grounds in *Carolina*; the greateſt part of which are only the waſhings of the ſand banks which ſurround them, and as poor, for low grounds, as the reſt of the country: but in *Virginia*, *Maryland*, and the *Delaware* counties, or territories of *Penſylvania*, where the uplands are fertile, the ſwamps or Rice grounds are extremely rich; and if they could get the large and rich ſorts of Rice above-mentioned to plant upon them, it might help to bring thoſe fertile ſpots into culture and tillage, to make them fit for other crops, ſuch as Hemp and Flax, and to drain the country, and render it more healthful. But to clear and drain the ſwamps in *Virginia*, would require all the people in the country to do nothing elſe, and would kill one half of them. It is found, from daily experience, that the working in the miry ſwamps in theſe hot climates is very unhealthful, and even dangerous; for which reaſon none of them are touched, where they have other lands fit to cultivate. It is only the want of other fruitful lands in *Carolina*, *Florida*, and all the Southern parts

parts of *North America*, that obliges them to enter into these *dismals*, as they are called, which infect all the country round them, and render it very unhealthful, even at a distance, and much more on these pernicious pools themselves.

This situation of the Southern colonies it will be very necessary to attend to, if ever we would promote or preserve the interest of *Britain* in *North America*. All our colonies on that Continent are divided into the Northern and Southern, of which the first will produce nothing that this nation wants from them; it is only in the Southern parts of *North America*, that the colonies can either make those commodities which are so much wanted by the nation, or subsist by a dependance on their Mother Country by that means. The interest of the nation therefore lies in the Southern parts of that Continent, and it is only by cultivating these, that *Britain* will be able to keep her colonies in a state of dependance upon her, or reap any great advantages by them. But notwithstanding they are of such consequence and importance, these Southern parts of the Continent have been neglected, and we have but very few people in them to this day. The great numbers of people we have in *North America* are in the Northern colonies, where they can make nothing that turns to any account, either to them or to the nation, while these Southern parts, which are much more extensive, lie unpeopled and uncultivated;

tivated; which is the true cauſe of the bad ſtate of the colonies.

It was for this reaſon an enquiry for many years at the Board of Trade, Why we have ſo few people in our Southern colonies, where the intereſt of the nation lies? What anſwer they may have received to that important queſtion, we know not, but it certainly proceeds from the barrenneſs of the land, and unhealthful ſituation of the country. The whole ſea-coaſt of *North America*, from the Bay of *New-York* to the Gulf of *Mexico*, is a low, flat, ſandy beach; the ſoil for a great diſtance from it is ſandy and barren; the climate is very rainy, and as theſe rains have no drain from the land, but ſtagnate all over a low flat country, they form innumerable ſwamps and marſhes, which render it very unhealthful. It is a common opinion, that all this part of the Continent, which ſtretches into the ocean at a conſiderable diſtance from the reſt, has been recovered from the ſea, and that it is nothing but a drained marſh or ſand-bank, which indeed it very much reſembles, and in nothing more than its pernicious influence on mankind. Accordingly, in all this ſpace, nothing is to be found, either on the ſurface, or in the bowels of the earth, but beds of ſea-ſhells, in place of ſtones, metals and other minerals, and the earth is as barren in theſe, as in other productions. Many cauſes likewiſe conſpire to render all theſe Southern coaſts of *North America* unhealthful, and as they

they are barren withal, and the heats ſo ſultry, that people are not able to undergo the toils of Planters in them, they are abandoned almoſt by all. It has likewiſe been obſerved, that many more people are buried than are born upon theſe coaſts, whence they can never be populous, but are a perpetual drain of people to the nation. To people the Southern parts of *North America* from the unhealthful ſea-coaſts, would be as difficult as to people *England* from *Romney* marſh.— Theſe Southern colonies are from 150 to 200 miles broad, between the ſea and mountains, of which about one half is thus low, flat, and unhealthful on the coaſt, and the inland parts the reverſe. They can likewiſe only be cultivated to any purpoſe by negroes, which the produce of the poor and barren lands will neither purchaſe, nor maintain. For this reaſon they are obliged to lay ſuch a duty upon the importation of negroes into *South Carolina*, that it amounts in a manner to a prohibition.

It is for theſe reaſons, that we have ſo few people in our Southern colonies, and are never likely to have any numbers by our preſent proceedings, notwithſtanding the whole intereſt of the nation in *North America* depends upon it. We think of nothing but extending our ſettlements ſtill farther on theſe peſtiferous ſea-coaſts, even to the ſunken lagunes of *Eaſt-Florida*, and the barren ſands of *Mobile* and *Penſacola*; and to add more drains of people to

the many we already have; by which means we are never likely to have any number of people in the Southern parts of *North America*, if this nation ſhould be ruined by it, as it is very likely to be. The only uſe of new ſettlements in *North America* is for the people in the Northern and other colonies, who want lands to make ſtaple commodities for *Britain*, to remove to them; but none of theſe will ever go to *Florida*, or thrive in it, more than they have done in *Carolina* and *Georgia*; the climate of *Florida* is more intemperate, the lands more barren, and the ſituation much worſe in every reſpect. For theſe reaſons, if we endeavour to raiſe colonies there, it will be much more impracticable, without a perpetual loſs of people, than in any of our other Southern colonies. None of the Southern parts of that Continent can ever be planted, without a very great loſs of people, but at the diſtance of a hundred or a hundred and fifty miles from the ſea-coaſt.

Whatever any of theſe maritime parts of *Florida* may be, it is certain, they will not breed people to reap their products, if ever they produce any thing; nay it appears from ſufficient experience, that they would not ſo much as maintain the few people who have been in them. Theſe are facts which ſpeak for themſelves: *Florida* has been ſettled ever ſince the year 1586, much longer than any part of *North America*; but notwithſtanding we

we ſee the people increaſe and multiply ſo faſt in all other parts of that continent, they never increaſed in *Florida*, as they have done in all other parts of *America*, both north and ſouth. The few people who were maintained there at a public expence, who were moſtly *forçados* or convicts baniſhed to a forlorn deſert, were not able to get the bare neceſſaries of life, but were ſupplyed by our colonies, the *Havannah*, or other *Spaniſh* ſettlements, as is well known in our colonies which ſupplied them *. Therefore, whatever any may ſay about the healthfulneſs or fruitfulneſs of *Florida*, it muſt appear to be a mere conjecture, contrary to 170 years experience. Had it been either a healthful or fruitful country, we ſhould at leaſt have ſeen ſome people in it, in ſo long a time. If a few might have been bred there at a public expence, they all deſerted the country, as all have done who ever went to it; and none will ſtay in a country which does not produce the neceſſaries of life, or corn and graſs. Theſe they can only get from the ſwamps and marſhes, which none would ever cultivate, till they are reduced to the laſt extremity, and can live no where elſe. If you may force a few negroes to

* 'All their ſupply of bread, cloathing and money, 'comes from the *Havannah* and *Porto Bello*, and it was go-'ing on of three years ſince they had a veſſel from any place 'whatſoever, which made their wants very great,' as we are told by a good judge on the ſpot. *Dickenſon's voyage to Florida*, p. m. 97.

clear and cultivate theſe *diſmals*, as they are called, white people are not fit for the buſineſs in that climate, and will never apply to it, if they can poſſibly live any where elſe. But except theſe diſmal ſwamps, it appears from all accounts, that they have no other Corn or graſs grounds in *Florida*, fit to maintain any number of people.

It is as contrary to all reaſon and experience, to call *Florida* healthful. There never was a healthful country known upon the ſea coaſts of *America*, whether north or ſouth, from *New-York*, or at leaſt from *Virginia*, to *Peru*; all the *Britiſh* and *Spaniſh* colonies in theſe climates are well known to be very unhealthful, on the low flat and marſhy ſea coaſts; and *Florida* lies in the very midſt and worſt ſituation of them all. If it is healthful, it muſt alter the very nature of things. It is a low flat and marſhy ſea coaſt, ſcorched with burning ſands, in a hot climate, and cloſe woody country, and flooded with exceſſive heavy rains, which have no drain from the land, but ſtagnate all over a low flat country, and form thoſe ſwamps and marſhes of which it is full; which become perfectly peſtiferous, when the waters ſtagnate and corrupt in ſuch a hot climate. There is not a hill in the whole country to drain it from the heavy rains, either in eaſt or weſt *Florida*; from which alone any one might perceive, they can never be healthful. In theſe reſpects they reſemble all the moſt unhealthful parts of our colonies,

colonies, and of all other parts of the world, and the climate is more intemperate. We ought not therefore to be deluded with ſtories about the healthfulneſs of ſuch a country, when all the world ſhews it to be the reverſe. All our colonies, and *Weſt-Florida*, were very healthful, till they were found to be otherwiſe; as they muſt appear to be to every good judge, from their ſituation on or nigh the ſea coaſts, which are well known to be very unhealthful *. The complexions of the people, the ſureſt

* The ſituation of all the maritime parts of *North America* in the ſouth is; I. They are a low, flat and cloſe woody country, which can neither be well aired nor ventilated.

II. The coaſt for ſome diſtance is low, flat and marſhy; the marſhes ſmell as bad as any common ſewers, and infect the whole country round them.

III. The ſoil is in general a ſcorching ſand in a hot climate, which with the cloſe woods render the heats ſo inſufferable, that people ſometimes drop down dead with them, eſpecially at hard labor in the fields.

IV. They lye in a narrow vale between the ſea and mountains, and are flooded with rains from both theſe ſources, both from ſea and land winds. The quantity of rain that falls by theſe means is vaſtly great, from 50 to 65 inches in a year. In the moſt rainy ſeaſon we have known in *England*, there fell 9 inches of rain in two months, but at *Charles-Town* Dr. *Lining* meaſured 9 inches of rain in one ſhower, which laſted 36 hours. The greateſt part of this rain falls in the months of *July*, *Auguſt* and *September*, and renders them very ſickly, by ſtagnating all over a low flat country, which forms ſo many ſwamps and marſhes. In *Florida* again they have a third ſource of rain from the gulph of *Mexico*, ſo that it rains almoſt every day in ſummer.

V. All

ſureſt ſign of the ſtate of health in any country, their pale and ſallow looks, and emaciated habits, abundantly ſhew the unhealthfulneſs of their

V. All this happens in the climate of *North America*, which is ſubject to great and ſudden changes from heat to cold, eſpecially in the long nights in the ſouthern parts, to which their unhealthfulneſs is chiefly owing. You are melted with ſweat at night, and tremble in your bed with cold before morning. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ.*

Here we have both heat and moiſture in extreams, which are the certain parents of diſeaſes, ſaith *Hippocrates*; and that has been ſufficiently verifyed in the woods and ſwamps of *America*; although ſome places are more healthful, ſuch as the banks of St. *Auguſtine*, which are high and dry, expoſed to the ſea breeze.—The common diſeaſes are epidemic fevers, and the *country diſtemper*, as it is called, is a lingering chachexy, of which none can form any judgment in a year or two.

The reaſon that is given for the healthfulneſs of *Florida*, is, that the garriſon of St. *Auguſtine*, after ſtaying there for 20 months, happened to eſcape alive; but ſurely that is no certain proof that the country is healthful. It may be a ſign that it is inhabitable, and ſo are all parts of the world, in ſome degree, from *Greenland* to *Gomorron*, but that is no proof that they are healthful. They appear to be unacquainted with the ſtate of health in *North America*, who draw that concluſion from ſuch an obſervation! It is well known, that many go and return from all the moſt unhealthful parts of *America*, and eſcape with their lives, although not without a ſevere fit of ſickneſs; of which we ſee inſtances every day in all our ſhips crews, who go to theſe unhealthful coaſts of *North America*. By ſuch inferences, we ſeem not to obſerve the firſt principle of *phyſick*; the bane of which is, to draw general rules from particular obſervations. To ſay that ſuch a one happened to eſcape with his life out of *Florida*, is no more than to ſay, that ſuch a one happened to live after taking a dangerous

their ſituation, and deter all who know them from ſettling among them. By theſe means the nation loſes more people on theſe unhealth-

dangerous medicine, when twenty others may be killed by it. — The acute diſeaſes in theſe unhealthful parts of *North America* generally turn to intermittents, which are not mortal even in twenty months; but in a few months more they may bring on that *Cachexy*, with an emaciated habit, a ſwelled belly, and pale ſallow complexion, which is the characteriſtic of the bad ſtate of health in all the ſouthern and maritime parts of *North America*; after which acute diſeaſes are mortal, and chronic diſeaſes incurable, without a change of air and climate. — *Videas* anhelos & ſemimortuos, *ab oris maritimis ad montes confugere, & cito ſanitatem recuperare.* Sanciri de noxiis paludum effluviis.

Upon theſe accounts, theſe maritime parts of *North America* differ from moſt other parts of the world, which are generally healthful, wherever they are barren; but to be both barren and unhealthful, is perhaps peculiar to theſe wretched ſea coaſts, on which the poor people ſtarve with poverty, and dye with perpetual ſickneſs; ſhewing, while alive, the very picture of poverty and bad health, almoſt in every countenance.

They who tell us, that *Florida* is healthful, would at the ſame time perſuade us, that it will bear ſugar; in which they ſeem not to know, how much they contradict themſelves. The ſmall ſhare of health that people generally enjoy in all theſe ſouthern and maritime parts of *North America*, proceeds from the winters, in which the people recruit their ſtrength and vigor, ſo as to be able to live out another ſummer; but in ſuch winters ſugar is killed, when men recover; but *Florida* ſeems to be unfit for either. It is for this reaſon that the people encreaſe and multiply ſo faſt in *North America*, when they decreaſe in the ſugar colonies; as they appear to do in theſe ſouthern and unhealthful ſea coaſts of the Continent, where the winters are ſo ſhort. From this we may ſee the wiſdom of nature in every thing; if the ſevere colds render that continent uninhabitable in the north, it is on that account more inhabitable in the ſouth.

ful

ful ſea coaſts, than many ſuch barren deſerts are worth.

It was by theſe means that the *Spaniards* have loſt ſo many people; that *Spain* has been depopulated in peopling *America*; and *Britain* would loſe as many in peopling *Florida*. For that reaſon it is propoſed to people it with *Greeks*; but the low flat and marſhy country, and ſcorching ſands of *Florida*, are as different from the high and dry, hilly and ſtony country of *Greece*, as of *Britain*. *Greece* lies in the ſame climate as *Virginia*, and the people of that colony muſt be ſuppoſed to be better inured to the ſingular and peculiar climate of *North America* than the *Greeks*; but ſend them to the ſcorching ſands and ſwamps of *Florida*, few of them would ſurvive it for any time. It is for this reaſon, that none of the people in our colonies will go to *Florida*, eſpecially in the northern, for whom it is only wanted. They look upon it as going to their graves, or to lead a miſerable life in an intemperate and ſickly climate, in which they are not able to undergo the labor that is neceſſary to earn their bread. "The heat of the ſands would ſcorch the ſoals "of their ſhoes," ſay they, in the accounts they have publiſhed of it; and in effect, the heat in *Georgia* has been found to be 103 degrees in the ſhade, and in *Carolina* 130 in the ſun and ſands, which is 34 degrees greater than the heat of human blood. Such a country can never be cultivated but by negroes, which all

all the produce of the poor lands will never enable any one to purchaſe, eſpecially at their preſent advanced price. And if any ſhould lay out money upon negroes in *Florida*, it would only hinder the people in *Carolina* to maintain theirs, which they are already ſcarce able to do without manufactures, as we have ſaid.

If we conſider the ſoil, it is rather worſe than the climate and ſituation. All the ſouthern and maritime parts of *North America* are either a barren bank of ſand, or an unhealthful ſunken marſh; and the farther ſouth we go, the worſe it grows in theſe reſpects, till in *Florida* it ends in a mere ſandy deſert, full of ſtagnant pools from the heavy rains. The whole coaſt of *Weſt-Florida* has been well known ever ſince the year 1719, and the many accounts the *French* have given of it, to be nothing but ſuch a ſandy deſert; "the land is "nothing but a fine ſand, as white and "ſhining as ſnow *." This is the account they give of the country from the *Miſſiſippi* to *Mobile*; of which laſt an officer of twenty years experience in the country, gives his opinion in theſe words, 'I never could ſee for what rea-'ſon this fort was built, or what could be the 'uſe of it: although it is 120 leagues from '*New-Orleans*, it muſt be ſupplied from 'thence; the ſoil is ſo bad, being nothing but 'ſand, that it produces nothing but Pine-trees,

* *Du Pratz*, Hiſt. *Louiſiana*, I. 52.

' or a little pulſe, which is but indifferent of the ' kind †.' They only ſettled there for the ſake of a port in *Dauphin* iſland, which was choked up by the ſhifting of the ſands in a gale of wind, and leaves the place without any port above the depth of nine feet. They only maintained this port to vye with *Carolina* in the *Indian* trade, for which purpoſe it muſt be rather a prejudice than any benefit to *Britain*. Their other ſettlements on this coaſt, they tell us, " only deſerved an oblivion as laſting, as their " duration was ſhort." They then took *Penſacola* from the *Spaniards*, but found it only fit to diſmantle and abandon; on which they retired to the *Miſſiſippi*, as we muſt do, if ever we would hold that country. By inſiſting upon the ſettlement of the ſea coaſts, we ſhall loſe both time, men and money for nothing, till we may loſe the country with them, as both the *French* and *Spaniards* have done before us.

The greateſt part of *Florida* was ſurveyed in 1708 by Capt. *Nairn*, from *Carolina*, who gives this account of it for about an hundred miles ſquare round *Penſacola*; " All this coun- " try is a *pine-barren* (ſandy deſert) without " any water in it;" that is, it has neither earth nor water in it, and muſt therefore be very unfit for a *plantation*. All the reſt of *Florida*

† Du Mont. Memoires de la Louiſiane, Tom. ii. p. 80.

appears

appears to be the ſame, where it is not ſwampy and marſhy. We may ſay of the whole, what *F. Charlevoix*, who travelled all over it, ſays of the next poſt at St. *Joſeph*'s, which lies in the middle of the country upon the borders of *Eaſt* and *Weſt Florida*; 'it is a wretched coun-'try *(un pays perdu)* and a mere barren ſand, 'on a flat and bleak ſea-coaſt—the laſt place 'on earth where one would expect to meet 'with any mortal, and above all with Chriſt-'ians *.' Our people who are there, and thoſe who have come from it, give rather a worſe account of their ſituation, and of the country †.

* Hiſt. *N. France*, tom. vi. p. 263.

† The following account was wrote by an officer from *Penſacola*, and has been confirmed by other eye-witneſſes: "My expectations with regard to this country, and the hopes of every one elſe, are ſunk to the loweſt pitch. Inſtead of the fineſt country in the world (as *Weſt Florida* was called) we found the moſt ſandy, barren, and deſert land that eyes could ſee, or imagination paint! not capable of producing a ſingle vegetable, nor the leaſt proſpect of improving it! as the ſoil for an hundred miles back is every where the ſame as the ſea-ſhore, and conſiſts not of earth, but of the whiteſt ſand you ever ſaw;" which agrees with the account of Capt. *Nairn* above.

"In ſummer it is too hot to go abroad in the day-time; the months of *July*, *Auguſt*, and *September* are ſaid to be as hot here as at *Jamaica*. The winter is very cold, but as it depends on what wind blows, that is very uncertain. You have often contrary extreams in the ſame day; a South wind ſcorches, and a North wind freezes, which muſt be very diſagreeable—There is ſo much ſickneſs at *Mobile*, that almoſt all the officers are ill, and only 60 men of a regiment able to do duty;" which was afterwards the caſe at *Penſacola*.

Yet we are told, "*Weſt Florida* is extremely "fertile *;" and we have no better grounds to believe, that *Eaſt Florida* is ſo. This is the firſt part of *North America* that was ever attempted to be ſettled, and has been better known than any part of the Continent, altho' it ſeems now to be entirely unknown and forgot. Both the *Spaniards* and *French* have often attempted to ſettle *Eaſt Florida*, but found it to be ſo unfit for that purpoſe, that they entirely abandoned it †. This country has been as well known to the *Engliſh* ſince the two ſieges of St. *Auguſtine* in 1702 and 1740, and the expeditions

* Regulations of the Colonies.

† *Florida* was firſt undertaken to be ſettled by *John Ponce* in 1512; *Vaſquez d' Ayllon* in 1520 and 1524; *Pamphilo Narvaez*, who had a grant of it, in 1528; *Fernando Soto* from 1539 to 1541; a Company of Miſſionaries in 1549; *Pedro de Melendez*, who had a grant of all the Southern parts of *North America*, in 1562 to 1586; the *French* under *Ribault* and *Laudonniere* from 1562 to 1567; but they all found the country to be ſo poor and barren, that they abandoned it, inſomuch that it has never been ſettled as a colony to this day. *Soto* travelled all over the Weſtern parts of the Peninſula, from the Bay of *Spirito Santo*, where he landed, and tells us of the whole from that to the inland parts of *Georgia*, "that country, which is no leſs than "350 leagues in extent, is a light and ſoft land (ſand), "full of ſwamps and very high and thick buſhes, which "is very poor and barren:" but where lands bear nothing but buſhes or underwoods in *America*, they are good for nothing. *Narvaez* again ſearched all the Eaſtern and inland parts for 280 leagues, 'and found it to be all a low 'flat ſand, full of ſwamps, with a ſad and diſmal aſpect 'throughout the whole country.' *Solum omne quod hactenus luſtraverant*

peditions of Governor *Bull*, who broke up the *Indian* ſettlements in it; from which every one has conceived that bad opinion of *Florida*, which all have given us, who ever before knew it. For theſe reaſons the *Spaniards* abandoned *Florida* as a colony, and 'St. *Auguſtine* was only main-'tained by his Catholic Majeſty, that it may 'be of ſervice to the Plate-fleets, when coming 'through the Gulf, by ſhewing lights to them 'along the coaſt, and by being ready to give 'aſſiſtance when any of them are caſt away 'thereabout *.' This was the more neceſſary, as there is not a port upon that whole coaſt. The Bar of St. *Auguſtine* has but eight or nine feet water on it, and that over ſuch breakers on the rocks, that it is as tremendous as dangerous to paſs it. We are told indeed, that theſe rocks may be blown up, but for what purpoſe? There could not be a worſe ſpot pitched upon, either to cultivate or navigate; and there are four good ports nigh it, *St. Mary's*, *Jekyll*, *Tybee*, and *Port-Royal*, but not one of them will ever be ſecured by ſuch colonies as *Georgia* and *Florida*; although they are the only good ports

luſtraverant (ſecundum ipſorum calculum 280 *leucarum) planum erat atque arenoſum, multis ſtagnis riguum—Triſtem & ſqualidam regionis faciem renuntiavit.* De Laet. l. 4. c. 3. Herrera Dec. iv. l. 4. c. 4.

From all theſe accounts, and from all the authentic documents with which the Council of the *Indies* in *Spain* could furniſh him, which were numerous, the Hiſtorian of *America* himſelf informs us, *Florida* is a poor country, without any commodity but a few ſorry pearls, and all who ever went to it died in miſery. *Herrera* Dec. iii. l. 8. c. 8.

* Report of the Aſſembly of *Carolina*, *July* 18, 1740.

we have in all theſe Southern parts of *North America.*

From all theſe accounts of *Eaſt Florida*, and even from thoſe which have been publiſhed to extoll and magnify the country, it muſt appear to all good and impartial judges, to be nothing but a *pine-barren*, or ſandy deſert, which can only be compared to a barren ſandy *heath* in *Europe*, if it is not even worſe †.

But

† This abundantly appears from the journal of Mr. *Bartram* in *Eaſt Florida*. Lands in *North America* are eaſily known by what they produce, or the woods with which they are covered, of which our Author gives a particular account in every part of the country; from which it muſt appear to all who underſtand it, that the lands are the worſt of any in *North America*, which are ſo much worſe than thoſe in *Europe*. They are in general covered with *pines*, mixed with a few ſhrubby *oaks*, *live-oaks*, or *Chinkapins*; and in other places, which are ſwampy, with *laurels*, *bays*, *liquid-amber*, and *water oaks*; with underwood of *ivy*, *myrtle*, *whortle-berries*, *palmetto*, &c.; now theſe are the heath itſelf of *America*, with which all poor and barren lands are covered there, as they are here with heath, which does not grow in *America*. Hence *Florida* was juſtly called a *Bag-ſhot heath*. Were that heath in *America*, it would be covered in the ſame manner as *Florida* is, ſince there is no other heath there.—Good lands in theſe Southern parts of *North America* ſhould be covered, as they are upon the *Miſſiſſippi*, and all other places, with tall *red hiccories*, as high and ſtraight as elms, *white*, *cheſtnut*, or *ſcarlet oaks*, *tulip trees*, *black walnuts*, *locuſts*, &c. of which we do not meet with one in *Florida*; and it is not a tree or two of any kind that denotes the quality of the land, but entire woods of them.

But many, who are unacquainted with theſe things, deceive themſelves, and impoſe upon the nation; and it is to be feared, do not know land when they ſee it. If they find a few oaks on land, they think it muſt be good; but there are four and twenty different ſorts of oaks in *North America*,

† vide Political Eſſays pd by Strahan & Cadel 4°. 1772 p. 255.

But as the whole is a dead flat, without a hill in it, if it be not ſome ſand-banks, the rains, which are very heavy, and almoſt perpetual eve-y day in ſummer, form many ſwamps and marſhes, in which the waters ſtagnate for want of a drain, and thereby fertilize the poor barren ſoil. Theſe are the Rice grounds of

America, which grow on all ſorts of ſoil, from clay to ſand, and from the beſt to the very worſt of all. Others again are as much deceived about what they call *biccory-lands*.—So upon ſeeing a little clay in the ſandy banks, they tell us, theſe barren ſands have a clayey foundation!—Mr. *Bartram* could find no clay, till a bit was ſearched for as a rarity, which proved to be only a concretion of ſhells. The ſandy banks in all theſe Southern parts of *North America* have ſome *ſtrata* of clay and ſhells in them, otherwiſe they would be waſhed into the ſea, where there are no rocks nor ſtones to ſupport them; but you will find no clay in the land.

But the way to judge of good lands is from the Corn and Graſs they bear, and the crops they yield; ſo that if any will tell us of good lands in *Florida*, what ſort of Graſs do they produce, or do they bear any? and what is it like? Sandy ſoils in hot climates never produce good Graſs, and in *Florida* they are covered with pines, which ſpoil every thing, and even the earth itſelf, as we have ſaid. But what ſort of corn will lands produce, which bear no Graſs?

We are told indeed, they have two crops of Corn in a year, which it is well known the *Indians* of *Florida* always had, and yet they never had Corn to eat for above ſix months in the year. There are five very different ſorts of *Indian* Corn, and a dwarf early kind, of which they have two crops a year in all the Southern parts of *America*, and yet it yields ſo little, that it is not worth planting; if it be not in *Canada* and *Florida*, where the ſoil or climate are fit for no other.—Thus you can neither have Wheat, Barley, Rye, Oats, good *Indian* Corn, nor Graſs; ſo that it is to be feared, we do not know or conſider what it is to plant ſuch a country!

Carolina,

Carolina, which are the beſt, if not the only fruitful lands in the country; and for that reaſon a Rice planter who has been to view theſe in *Florida* tells us, " theſe *marſhes* are extraor-" dinary rich *lands* ‡;" from which expreſſion many would perſuade themſelves, and make the world believe, this is a very rich and fruitful country, as nothing elſe can induce any one to be of that opinion: but ſurely ſuch pernicious pools, in that climate, never deſerved the name of *land*, if it be not here, or in *Carolina*, where they have no other. A Rice planter may think theſe marſhes on the head of *St. John*'s river, or the ſwamps in the middle of it, " the beſt " in the king's dominions *;" but the better they are in his ſenſe, ſo much the worſe for thoſe who live upon them; for good Rice grounds have a ſtrong holding bottom, on which the waters do not drain off and leave them dry, as upon their poor ſandy bottoms, but ſtagnate till they become putrid, and infect the whole country round them; which fre-

‡ Account of *Eaſt Florida*, p. 77.

* We fear, they who may be of this opinion are not acquainted with the king's dominions. Were they to ſee the ſwamps in *Virginia* and *Maryland*, they would think thoſe in *Carolina* and *Florida* hardly worth cultivating. This they may perceive from the *Cypreſſes* they bear, which are ſo ſtunted, that they abundantly ſhew the ſterility even of theſe their low grounds. And as moſt of theſe on *St. John*'s river are *Cypreſs* ſwamps, which will not defray the charge of clearing and draining, it is to be queſtioned, whether they are fit for any thing.

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quently happens in all the ſouthern parts of *North America* †.

Theſe ſwamps, which they would call rich lands, lye on *St. John*'s river, which is the only part of the country that is of any value. Now the lands on the lower parts of that river

† For theſe reaſons the wiſe Author of nature ſeems to have made all theſe ſouthern parts of *America*, which are ſo low and flat, and flooded with ſuch heavy rains, a poor ſandy ſoil, from which the waters drain off, or ſoon dry up, otherwiſe they would be uninhabitable; and theſe Rice ſwamps are little better. Let not any one therefore ſet a value upon a clayey ſoil, on theſe low flat and rainy ſea coaſts, even if they ſhould find any. Neither let any one imagine, that *Florida* will ever breed people. Nature makes nothing in vain, and does not breed people to ſtarve in a ſandy deſert. The *French* obſerved at *Mobile*, that the breeding women were barren, as they are in a like ſituation on the coaſt of *Africa*, and in all ſuch ſandy deſerts in hot climates, from natural and manifeſt cauſes; whatever anile ſtories any may tell us about their fecundity at St. *Auguſtine*. Thus we ſeem not to conſider what it is for this nation, which is in ſuch want of people both at home and abroad, to people a country, in which more people are buried than are born, and the women are barren. It is ſurpriſing, that when this nation has ſo few people, we ſhould think of nothing but ſettling the barren and peſtiferous ſea coaſts of *Florida*, and the *Weſt India* iſlands, which have been called healthful, as well as the other. Theſe muſt be ſettled by *Britain*; none of the people in our colonies will go nigh one of them; and the nation will be drained of people at home, to render her colonies independant, and more populous and powerful than their mother country, to the probable ruin of both. But we ſeem to be ruled by a little local knowledge of a ſandy point on theſe barren and unhealthful ſea coaſts, without any regard to all the reſt of the world.

are ſandy and barren for 125 miles, above which theſe ſwamps extend 40 or 50 miles farther; and beyond theſe the river is ſo choked up with pond weeds (a ſure ſign of an offenſive ſtagnant water) that it overflows its low borders and drowns the country about it, which forms many lagunes, or miry marſhes, from that to its ſource nigh the cape of *Florida*. This is the whole of this country, which ſome would extoll and magnify!—As for any uplands, we hear of none but what are all ſand. The *Pine-barrens* come down to the river ſide, where it is not ſwampy; and the low grounds, between the ſwamps and the barrens adjacent, are but two or three hundred yards broad, and theſe are all ſand, ſays our author †. But if this were a fruitful country, theſe low grounds on the river ſide ſhould be two or three miles broad with a deep and rich ſoil. If you meet with no ſuch lands on the river ſides, eſpecially in *North America*, it is a certain ſign, there are none in the whole country. It is therefore to be feared, that they who would magnify and praiſe this barren deſert, do not know a country when they ſee it, and are more

† See *Bartram*'s journal, *manuſcript*; which paſſage we do not find in the edition that has been publiſhed; although it is the moſt material of the whole, as it contains a general deſcription of the country, and the author's opinion of it, after he had viewed it; but as this is not in favor of the country, it was not deemed fit to print.

unable

unable to form a right judgment from an account of it †.

The ſettlements on theſe rich lands, as they would call them, are made on little hillocks, about 2 or 300 yards long, and half as broad, which riſe up here and there in the midſt of theſe ſwamps or banks of the river. "Theſe are the "beſt Corn lands," ſays our author, and the only lands that the natives cultivated, for which they are rendered fit by being covered with ſhells, like many part of *North America*. Such ſpots are certainly not worth poſſeſſing in ſuch a deſert. The low grounds on the river ſide, which are the only other fruitful lands, are but 2 or 300 yards broad, and about 50 miles in length.

† There is not perhaps a river in the world, of the ſame extent with this, that has ſo little or rather no good land on it. Even in *Weſt Florida*, barren as it is on the ſea coaſts, if you aſcend the rivers for 100 or 150 miles, you meet with a high dry and fruitful country, in a more temperate climate and healthful ſituation; but this muddy canal in *Eaſt Florida* is barren at its mouth, and ends in ſuch marſhes at its head, that they are not fit to inhabit in that climate. This and all the other little ſtreams in the country proceed from ſuch ſources, and run ſome north, ſome ſouth, in contrary directions to one another, like ſtagnant and muddy canals, rather than running waters which proceed from the natural ſources of rivers in hills and mountains; of which there are none in all *Florida*, whether eaſt or weſt, nigh the coaſt. Yet they would praiſe even theſe muddy canals, which they call rivers, as well as the marſhes upon them, which they would call rich lands, ſince there are no others. But if any would ſee a true account both of ſuch rivers and lands, which ſmell as bad as any common ſewers, and are only to be paralleled by the *Campania* of *Rome*, let them conſult *Lanciſi de noxiis paludum effluviis*.

Suppoſe they were a mile broad, and 100 miles in length, which will contain all the beſt of the ſands in the country, they would make but 100 ſquare miles, which is but the ſize of the tenth part of a county in *England*. Even if we allow all the little ſpots that may be found fit to cultivate in the whole country, to make 1000 ſquare miles, the ſize of a county in *England*, can they be worth poſſeſſing in ſuch a deſert? or can ſuch ſpots be worth 100,000 *l.* a year!—All the lands of any value in *Canada* make but 900 ſquare miles, and thoſe in *Florida* not 100; the two together are no larger than a county in *England*, and are ſaid to coſt near half a million a year, which is nigh half as much as all the lands in *North America* produce for ſale.

As for the produce of ſuch a country, we may be ſure it cannot be much, if any thing. The firſt thing to be conſidered in all countries, and eſpecially on plantations where they have no markets for proviſions, are the neceſſaries of life, or Corn and Graſs, which *Florida* will not produce for any number of people, or a colony. Neither Wheat, Barley, Rye, nor Oats, will grow in the ſoil or climate. A poor and ſcorching ſandy ſoil is as improper for theſe, as a miry marſh, eſpecially in ſuch a climate. The winters likewiſe are too ſhort and ſultry to cure proviſions, at leaſt to keep for the year; without which it is impoſſible to live on plantations: but as the winters are attended with froſts, ſo

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as to render the country unfit to produce ſugar, it labors under all the diſadvantages of a ſouthern ſituation, without any of the advantages; and they may be as unable to purchaſe their proviſions, as to raiſe or cure them. Nothing that *North America* produces, will enable a colony to purchaſe their proviſions. It was for this reaſon, that the *Spaniards* never had the neceſſaries of life in 170 years that they were poſſeſſed of *Florida*; and every one deſerts the country, as faſt as they go to it, unleſs they are maintained at a public expence. The many projectors we have in all our colonies, never conſider how their labourers are to be maintained, and for that reaſon their projects all miſcarry, as they certainly muſt do in *Florida*. You can only maintain a colony there by means of Rice, and to clear, drain and cultivate the diſmal ſwamps of *America* for that, in which half the labourers are loſt, is more than any white people can or will do; and to purchaſe negroes at their preſent price will never turn to account for that, or any thing elſe that *Florida* will produce. They find it ſo difficult to maintain negroes in *Carolina*, that they have in a manner prohibited them. At the beſt, *Florida* can only be a barren appendage of the other Rice colonies, which already produce more Rice than they can well vend, or at leaſt they and the other colonies have ten times more land than would ſerve for that purpoſe; ſo that the ſettling of a colony here can only ſerve to oblige

oblige the reſt to ſet their negroes about manufactures, as we have ſaid *.

For theſe reaſons, they would make a ſugar colony of *Florida*; a whim with which the nation has been deluded, with all others that could be thought of. A poor ſandy ſoil is as unfit to produce ſugar, as the cane is to grow in froſt and ſnow. They muſt be little acquainted with the climate of *North America*, who expect to make ſugar in any part of that continent. At *Charles-Town* in *South Carolina* the cold has been obſerved to be greater, than

* We have already had an account of what *Florida* will produce, by a good judge on the ſpot. Mr. *Bartram* tells us, the richer ſwamps may produce Rice; the narrow ſlip of ſandy low grounds on the borders of theſe might bear Indigo; and the ſandy uplands, which are in a manner the whole country, would produce *Indian* Corn, Potatoes, and Cotton, "by the help of dung, and good cultivation," ſays he; and ſo would any land, if you could get manure for it; but that is as ſcarce in a ſandy deſert, as a clayey foundation is for ſuch a ſoil, which we are told might manure it—The proper manure for ſuch lands is marl, which will not quit coſt for any thing that *North America* produces, if it were to be found.—As for dung, many of our Planters in the Southern parts of *North America* are of opinion, that it ſpoils ſuch ſandy ſoils. It is preſently exhaled by the heat of the ſcorching ſands, ſo as to yield little or nothing, and renders them ſo light, that both the ſoil and manure blow away with the wind like duſt, and leaves them poorer than ever.—Thus all the propoſals for the planting of *Florida* are no better than to make ſugar in froſts!—To make both ſugar and wine in one and the ſame country, which is certainly very unfit for either!—To make ſilk, where there are no people! or to ſupport a colony by the planting of Cotton!

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the moſt intenſe cold felt in *England* during the hard winter 1739-40 *. So in the *French* ſettlements on the *Miſſiſippi*, they have both froſt and ſnow, and ſuch ſevere colds, that water thrown up in the air freezes before it falls to the ground †; at which times no part of *Florida* can be free from froſts. And we have ſeen very credible people who have felt the like cold at *Penſacola*, where water froze as it fell on the ſhip's deck, and they had ice of a conſiderable thickneſs. Theſe colds are occaſioned by violent north-weſt winds, and if we knew their fury, we cannot ſuppoſe, that their current can be ſtopt by the low and flat point of *Eaſt Florida*. We have had but three accounts of a winter there, which were all attended with ſevere froſts. The firſt is by *Soto*, who tells us, 'the *Indians* going naked (which 'they were uſed to) and in irons, during the '*bitter cold* of winter, were almoſt all ſtarved 'to death ‡.' This was in the ſouthern parts of the *Peninſula*; and both he and the *French* call the northern parts of *Eaſt Florida* "a very cold country." In like manner an *Engliſh* ſhip being caſt away not far from the cape of *Florida*, and the crew being ſtript by the *Indians*, ſeven of them were frozen to death, and when they arrived at St. *Auguſtine*, 'on the 16th of *November*, we had ice half

* See a deſcription of *South Carolina* by ———.
† *Du Pratz*, Hiſt. *Louiſiana*.
‡ Voyage to *Florida*, ch. 13.

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'an inch thick, ſay they, and it had been ſo 'for ſome mornings paſt §.' This cold they met with on the 7th of *November*, at the very beginning of winter, and not far from the Cape; where 'the ground was covered with ſuch 'froſts, that it was terrible to go out of doors. 'The north-weſt wind was violent, and the 'cold ſuch, that the ſtrongeſt of us thought 'we ſhould not outlive that day.—The *Spa-* 'niard who was cloathed, was as bad to bear 'it as we that were naked ‖.' So in Mr. *Bartram*'s journey through *Eaſt Florida*, the firſt thing he obſerved on the morning he ſet out, was, that the ground was covered with a hoar froſt; and on the 3d of *January* he met with ſuch a froſt, even on the head of St. *John*'s river, not far from the Cape, that it froze the ground an inch deep in one night; which killed the *Limes*, *Citrons* and *Bananas* at St. *Auguſtine* (probably under ſome ſhelter) and damaged many hardy plants which grow even in *England*. He met with four froſts in all, and one on the 12th of *February*. Thus the climate is ſubject to froſts from *November* to *February*, for three months in the year; in which, if the ſugar cane may grow, it will produce nothing but molaſſes, as it often does even in *Cuba*, and the north ſide of *Jamaica*, from theſe *Norths* (which ſeem to be the North-weſt winds from the Continent) and ſuch fre-

§ *Dickenſon*'s Voyage to *Florida*, p. 97.
‖ *Id. ibid.* p. 81.

quent heavy rains as they have in *Florida*; although they have no froſts there to render the juice more ſour, if not to kill the cane.

Others would perſwade themſelves, that *Florida* may produce *Wine* and *Oil*, *Silk* and *Cotton*, *Indigo* and *Cochineal*; but it is a great misfortune, that theſe things are not better underſtood, ſince the intereſt of the nation ſo much depends upon them. Theſe are the commodities which the nation has expected from the colonies, ever ſince they were ſettled, but is never likely to get them from theſe or any of the maritime parts of *North America*, to which the many diſappointments we have met with are chiefly owing. The maritime parts of all our ſouthern colonies are ſo poor and ſandy; the climate is ſo rainy; and the ſituation ſo low and flat, on a marſhy ſea coaſt, that they are very unfit for ſuch productions; and *Florida* is much worſe in all theſe reſpects than any of them *.

But

* It is well known in *Virginia* and *Maryland*, that even that climate is too hot to make good wine of any manured grapes they can get. The grapes of *Europe* are ſummer fruits there, and make nothing but a *vin du pays*, fit only for preſent drinking. It is only from autumn fruits that we can expect good wine in any country, eſpecially in ſuch hot climates. Neit' .. is good wine produced in any country on the ſea-coaſts, eſpecially ſuch as the low, flat, and rainy coaſts of *North America*. A vine is there drowned with rains, and killed by damps, as we have often found; which renders the juice thin and watery, and the wine ſmall and aigre; the fault of what is made in our colonies.

But the grand ſtaple commodities of *North America* are, or ſhould be, Tobacco, Indigo, Hemp and Flax, which all theſe ſouthern and maritime parts of the continent are ſtill more unfit to produce. Theſe require a ſtrong, rich and fertile ſoil, and can never be made on barren

This is likewiſe the quality of *ſummer fruits*, which have ſuch a thin crude juice; whereas in autumn fruits the juice is thick and racy, and well concocted, which gives the wine a ſtrength and body, ſo that it will keep—There is more rain falls in *Florida* in a month than a vine would bear in a twelvemonth, on ſuch a low and flat ſea-coaſt. The vine delights in a high, dry, and hilly ſituation, and ſtony ſoil, which filter the wet from the roots, of which it is very impatient; but in all theſe Southern and maritime parts of *North America* there is not a ſtone to be ſeen, which alone ſhews a ſoil improper for vineyards: And it is as conſtantly obſerved, that vines will not thrive among Pines, probably from the nature of the ſoil above-mentioned. All that Continent is covered with grape vines, but there are none among the pines, nor will they thrive when planted among them. Nothing that grows is more delicate in its food, or is ſooner hurt by an improper ſoil and ſituation, than a vine. It is to this unheeded peculiarity, that all our miſcarriages in making wine have been owing; and they will be rendered everlaſting, by continuing it in ſuch countries as *Florida*, or even the maritime parts of *Carolina*, or *Virginia*—On theſe barren and unhealthful ſea-coaſts of *North America*, the vegetables look as yellow and ſickly as the animals, and particularly *vines* and *olives*—The *olive* indeed might grow on theſe poor lands, but it will never bear good fruit on ſuch a rainy and damp ſea-coaſt. This is well known even in *Portugal*, where the olive does not thrive on the ſea-coaſt, although they ſeldom have any rain above once a year; but in *Florida* it rains more or leſs every day in ſummer, we are told—In ſuch a ſituation, *the olive ſhall caſt*

ren ſands. The ſettlement therefore of *Florida* is the direct way to diſappoint the nation in every thing we want from *North America*. The northern colonies will produce nothing of that kind, and theſe ſea coaſts of the ſouthern, to which we muſt by that means be confined, are

caſt its fruit, ſaith the Scripture; vines ſhed their leaves, grapes burſt, and olives drop.

Even the tender *ſilk-worm*, which would otherwiſe appear to delight in warmth and moiſture, like other inſects, cannot bear ſuch extremes of either. In *China*, where they are natives, and yield ſuch quantities of ſilk, the ſoil and climate are very dry and healthful, inſomuch that we are told by *Martini*, it ſeldom or never rains, as in *Portugal*. It ought therefore to be conſidered, whether our frequent miſcarriages in making ſilk may not be partly owing to theſe damp and unhealthful ſea-coaſts, which are as prejudicial to this tender creature, as to others; eſpecially as the exceſſive heats from the ſcorching ſands are equally noxious. But on the *Miſſiſſippi* and *Ohio* it ſeldom rains, as in *China*—But the frequent miſcarriages in the making of ſilk and wine have been owing to the attempting them at the firſt ſettlement of the colonies, from that of *Virginia* and *Carolina* to *Georgia*; when they have no hands to make ſilk, nor lands fit for vineyards. Theſe are the moſt improper of all employments for new ſettlements. The firſt thing they want is, to have the lands cleared for Corn and Graſs, which is not promoted, but obſtructed, by the planting of mulberry orchards and vineyards. Neither will theſe thrive in cloſe and damp woods. But the greateſt obſtacle is the want of hands to make ſilk, which requires ſo many. It is therefore a very injudicious propoſal to make ſilk in *Florida*, where there are no people, and where there are never likely to be a ſufficient number to make any quantity of ſilk, more than in *Georgia*, as theſe poor and barren countries will neither breed nor maintain them.

are as improper for that purpoſe. It is by theſe means that the nation has been diſappointed in all her hopes from *North America*, now for 150 years, and the ſettlement of *Canada* and *Florida* will only render theſe diſappointments unavoidable and everlaſting. All the commodities we want from the colonies can only be made in the ſouthern parts of the continent; *Canada* will produce none of them; *Florida* is

As for Cotton, there are three or four ſorts of it which might grow in moſt of our colonies in *North America*, and one of theſe is eſteemed as the beſt of any, and even preferable to the *Weſt-India* or perennial Shrub Cotton; which it very nighly reſembles. This laſt, it has been imagined, might grow in *Florida*; but it certainly never can be depended upon, for above a winter or two; which are ſometimes mild in all parts of *North America*, but they are as uncertain as the wind. This perennial Cotton was planted in *Georgia* by Dr. *Houſtoun*, but died the firſt winter. Cotton is perhaps tenderer than the Sugar Cane; even the annual ſorts, which grow in Northern climates, will not bear the leaſt froſt. We ought not therefore to depend upon the perennial Cotton in any part of *North America*; that is more proper for the Iſlands, as the other ſorts are for the Continent; and between the two we have no leſs than fifteen colonies from *Maryland* to *Granada*, which might make much more Cotton than the nation wants; although it is but a poor ſtaple for any one of them, and will never be made any where without other more valuable commodities with it; the common *Turkey* Cotton, which is the ſort generally planted in *North America*, is often at five-pence or ſix-pence a pound, and is hardly worth making to ſend to *Britain*. It is double of that value in the colonies, where it is made, and yet turns to very little account, if it be not for manufacturing by thoſe who make it.

The

is as unfit for the purpoſe; and for the ſake of theſe deſerts, we are excluded from all the more fruitful parts of the continent, which might produce all the commodities we want, and have no lands to make them elſewhere.—It is to the wretched ſterility of theſe ſouthern coaſts of *America*, which will neither produce any thing, nor breed people to reap their products, that all theſe diſappointments, and the bad ſtate of the nation, are owing; and the ſettlement of *Florida*, which is ſo much worſe than any of the reſt, will only increaſe theſe evils, and render them perpetual.

Beſides ſtaple commodities, there is another more material point to be conſidered in the co-

The next commodities, propoſed to be made in *Florida*, are *Indigo* and *Cochineal*; from the firſt of which we can expect as little in ſuch a poor, dry, ſandy ſoil, as from Cochineal in the climate. The true Cochineal does not grow to the Northward of *Panuco* in *Mexico*, which lies under the line, and to the Southward of the Cape of *Florida*. It is therefore to be doubted, whether it would grow in the froſts of *Florida*, as it is a perennial ſucculent plant, which will not bear a froſt. The ſort which grows in *Florida* and *Carolina* is but a poor *ſylveſter*, or wild kind, of ſo ſmall value, that it would ſcarce defray the charge of gathering. At the beſt the picking of Cotton and Cochineal is compared, by the people in *America* who try them, to the picking of ſtraws. Theſe are employments only fit for *Indians*, who gather all the Cochineal that is got; and if the *Indians* were ſettled in the Peninſula of *Florida*, they might make ſome Cotton and Cochineal, as they do in the *Spaniſh* colonies, which is the only proper uſe of that country.—As for ſome other pretended advantages of *Florida*, they are more likely to be a loſs and prejudice to the nation.

lonies,

lonies, which is their great and daily increaſe; and for which unleſs we make proviſion in time, they can never ſubſiſt by a dependence on *Britain*. We have above given an inſtance of a colony doubling its number every twenty years, and the like has been ſhewn in others; which is ſo far from being incredible, as many imagine, that it is ſurpriſing, they do not increaſe much faſter, ſince that is not above a fourth part of the natural increaſe of mankind in *England*, as we have ſhewn. This increaſe of the colonies is owing to their occupation of huſbandmen, which is the ſole buſineſs of planters; and to a cuſtom which prevails in them, of dividing the lands among their children, by which they are all provided with a ſubſiſtence, and a maintenance for a family, from the produce of their lands. Where this is the practice, any country will ſoon be full of people, if it will produce the neceſſaries of life. Mankind is propagated on the earth, like trees, as we have ſaid, according as they have room to grow, and can find a ſubſiſtence. Therefore, as *Britain* is a limited and confined country, and the lands are engroſſed by a few, it can never be very populous, nor the people numerous, unleſs the ſources of population are better attended to, and the lands are more equally diſtributed. But altho' the colonies we poſſeſs in *North America* are not above a fourth part as fruitful as *England*, yet if they have ſuch a general and free uſe of the lands, while they are engroſſed by a few here, they may ſoon become

become more populous than their mother country. There are at preſent nigh three millions of people in them *, who may in twenty or

* The number of people in the colonies is computed by two different methods: The firſt is from the militia, to which they add one third of their number for exempts, which they reckon gives the number of males between ſixteen and ſixty, which is a fourth part of the people; but in ſome of the colonies, in which we have an account both of the militia, and number of m les of that age, this computation appears to be deficien by about one eighth.

The other and moſt com. . way is, from the liſts of tythables, or taxable people, and polls; but as theſe liſts are made out by every one, in order to tax themſelves, they are always deficient, in the ſame manner as the land-tax is in *England*; and it is but a ſmall allowance for this deficiency, to ſuppoſe it to be one eighth.

Now, from theſe liſts the number of white people in *North Amer ica* was computed to be 1,600,000, in the year 1755, when the moſt exact account of their number was taken, before the commencement of the war; to which if we add one eighth, their number at that time muſt have been 1,800,000, and perhaps not much leſs than two millions, beſides 3 or 400,000 negroes. It was from this computation, that the number of people in the colonies has been reckoned two millions; and they appear even to have exceeded that number in 1755; to which if we add their increaſe ſince that time, they cannot now be much ſhort of three millions, including the negroes, of which many are daily purchaſed.

Since this appears to be the preſent number of people in the colonies, and they have hitherto doubled their numbers in 20 years, the queſtion is, whether will the preſent number continue to increaſe at that rate? It is no doubt more difficult to double three millions than one; but as the country is more cleared, open, and healthful, the lands are more fit for tillage, and the people apply more to the raiſing of the neceſſaries of life, they increaſe faſter than formerly; ſo that their number will ſoon be very great, and we ought in time to ſee how they are to ſubſiſt by a dependence on *Britain*, which it is the deſign of this diſcourſe to point out.

thirty

thirty years increaſe to ſix millions, as many as there are in *England*: And as they have room in that continent to extend their bounds, they will ſoon come to be very numerous; although they are never likely to be ſuch great and mighty empires, as many imagine, in the barren and inhoſpitable ſoil and climate, which make by far the greateſt part of that continent.

It is therefore of the utmoſt conſequence to this nation to attend to her agriculture and population both at home and abroad. The increaſe of three millions of people will ſoon render them very conſiderable. It will indeed be very difficult for the people in the colonies to ſubſiſt, or to become very numerous, in the countries they now poſſeſs; but it will be as difficult, if not impracticable, to confine them to thoſe bounds. So ſoon as planters want land, they ſtarve; and to avoid that, people will do any thing. It is for this reaſon, that although they are confined in their bounds by the proclamation of *October* 7th, 1763, yet we are told, they pay no regard to it. To confine them to thoſe bounds, is to ſtarve many of them, and to oblige the reſt to enter into manufactures, and a foreign trade; the conſequences of which we would rather prevent than foreteli. Theſe ſhould be left to people of judgment to diſcern and foreſee.

The great concern of this nation is, not only to render ſuch a number of people of uſe to her, and to enable them to ſupport the people at home, by which they may likewiſe increaſe and

and multiply, but at the ſame time to ſee, that they can ſubſiſt by a dependence on their mother country. This they are only enabled to do by the produce of their lands that are wanted in *Britain*; without theſe they can only ſubſiſt by manufactures, and ſupplying themſelves independent of her. Thus the general diſtribution of the lands in the colonies, by which every one has a portion to cultivate, in ſuch things as they ſend to *Britain*, is as much for her intereſt, as for the benefit of the people who poſſeſs them; and this nation ſhould never let any in the colonies be without lands for this reaſon. When they come to want lands to cultivate, which many already do, they have no way to ſubſiſt but by manufactures. Thus the uſe the nation has for new ſettlements and acquiſitions in *North America*, is, for the great increaſe of the people who are already there, and to enable them to ſubſiſt by a dependence upon her; which they can never do, unleſs they extend their ſettlements. The teſt therefore of all our acquiſitions is, whether will the people in the colonies, who want lands to make ſtaple commodities for *Britain*, remove to them? It is only by this rule, that we can judge of the utility of any acquiſitions or new ſettlements to *Britain*. More than one half of all the plantations in *North America* would never produce any thing that the nation wants; great part of the reſt is worn out; and the people are daily increaſing,

and muſt have new ſettlements, or ſupply themſelves independent of *Britain*.

Thus many ſeem not to know, what it is that we want new ſettlements or acquiſitions for, and for that reaſon they can be no judges of their utility. It is not to drain the nation of people at home, of which it is in ſuch want, nor even to get foreigners to ſettle any new colonies in *North America*, that acquiſitions are wanted; but to enable the people we already have there, and their daily increaſe, to make remittances to *Britain*, to pay their debts, to purchaſe their neceſſaries from hence, and to live in that ſtate of dependence on their mother country, as all the colonies ſhould and would do, if they could. Now as this is the uſe for which lands in *North America* are wanted, the ſending of any more people there, to occupy thoſe lands, muſt be the greateſt loſs and prejudice to this nation, and is the certain way to render the colonies independant, whether they will or not. The lands they at preſent poſſeſs will produce little or nothing for *Britain*, and if they have no others, what are they to do, unleſs they extend their ſettlements? It was for this purpoſe, that the nation wanted to enlarge her poſſeſſions in *North America*, and not to ſettle new colonies to interfere with the old, and to drain the nation of people at home. We have already by far too many people in *North America*, for all that they do or can make upon the lands they poſſeſs, not to mention their

their daily increaſe; and to ſend any more there, is only to render them all independent together. Thus a colony of *Greeks*, or any others, would be the greateſt detriment to this nation, if *Florida* were ever ſo fit to maintain them. We have already by far too many ſuch colonies as either *Canada*, *Nova Scotia*, *Georgia*, *Eaſt* or *Weſt Florida*; and to ſettle any more ſuch, is the greateſt folly that this nation could well commit. Beſides the expence, and the loſs both of men and money, they can only ſerve to render all the reſt independent. We already have colonies enough that produce nothing, and this nation will ſoon find that ſhe has too many ſuch, as we have ſaid.

Now as this is the uſe of all new ſettlements or acquiſitions in *North America*, we may from that judge of their utility and advantage. If the people in the colonies, who want lands to make ſtaple commodities for *Britain*, will remove to any ſuch acquiſitions for that purpoſe, they may be a benefit to the nation, otherwiſe they will prove a loſs and detriment. But will any planter we have in *North America*, remove either to *Canada* or *Florida*? Is it not obvious to every one, that ſuch a removal would be from bad to worſe, if it may not perhaps be to get a Rice plantation or two in the deſtructive ſwamps and marſhes? We already have but too many ſuch poor and barren lands, and inhoſpitable climates, and theſe are much worſe than what we had before, and ſo bad that we

can make no uſe of them. The Planters in all the colonies we have, are every day looking out for lands; they petitioned for thoſe on the *Ohio* and *Miſſiſippi*, even before the war, and many have deſired to ſettle them ſince, but not one of them will think either of *Canada* or *Florida*. Planters who underſtand the buſineſs would think it contrary to reaſon and experience, to ſend them to ſuch deſerts as theſe to make ſtaple commodities for *Britain*, and to live *merely by their agriculture*, where they could hardly get the neceſſaries of life! It is to ſupply the deficiency of the poor and barren lands we already poſſeſs, that new ſettlements or acquiſitions are wanted in the colonies; and not to acquire any more ſuch, which are much worſe than thoſe we had before, and of which we already have too many.—Thus we have loſt what we wanted, by being excluded from the *Ohio* and *Miſſiſippi*, and are burdened with the charge of ſupporting what we had no manner of uſe nor occaſion for, in *Canada* and *Florida*.

The only advantage of theſe acquiſitions proceeds from the expulſion of our enemies from them, and not from the ſettling of colonies in them, for which they are totally unfit. By the reduction of *Canada* and *Florida* the colonies have ſuch a ſecurity, from the enemy by which they were before ſurrounded, that they may extend their ſettlements with ſafety, and cultivate thoſe lands which may both enrich them and the whole nation; but of ſuch lands there

there are none either in *Canada* or *Florida*; and to exclude the colonies from all others, for the ſake of theſe deſerts, is to deprive the nation of all the advantages which might otherwiſe be reaped from the reduction of them, and of the very object for which the nation engaged in ſuch an expenſive war. There are but two objects in all *America*, lands that will produce ſtaple commodities for *Britain*, and the fiſhery of *New-Foundland*, of which we ſhall get neither, if we are excluded from the *Ohio* and *Miſſiſippi*. It was not for the acquiſition either of *Canada* or *Florida*, that the nation engaged in the war, but for lands that would enable the colonies, and their daily increaſe, to ſubſiſt by a dependence on *Britain*, of which there are certainly none in theſe deſerts; although ſuch lands are the only object to this nation. All others are a prejudice and detriment to her, and the ſettlement of them is the direct way to ruin the intereſt of *Britain* in *North America*, after all it has coſt her *.

It

* I. There could not well be a more ruinous ſcheme propoſed, than to ſettle all the Northern parts of *America*. The people in them can never ſubſiſt by their Agriculture, and muſt therefore rely on manufactures; with which they muſt ſupply the Southern colonies, and get the materials from them, as they could have few of their own. In their long winters, when they can do no work in the fields for half the year, they can only ſubſiſt by manufactures within doors, and can make nothing to purchaſe them. Hence manufactures have ever been eſtabliſhed in *Canada*; and we have

It is well known from 150 years experience, beſides the reaſons which we have given above, that no part of *North America* will produce any thing for *Britain*, to the northward of *Maryland*, in or about the latitude 39°, 30′. North of that the climate is ſuch, that it will produce

have been publickly told, as an advantage of that acquiſition, that the Southern colonies are ſupplied with hoes, axes, &c. from thence, contrary to law, and the manifeſt intereſt of *Britain*.

II. Any other ſettlements in the North can only interfere with our preſent Northern colonies, and leſſen their returns to *Britain*, which are already ſo inconſiderable. *Canada* muſt interfere with them in the Fur Trade; *Nova Scotia* in the Fiſhery; and *Florida*, with *Carolina*, in Rice; which are the great ſources of all their remittances to *Britain*.

III. In order to ſupport *Canada* and *Nova Scotia*, the Northern colonies muſt be enlarged and confined to lands which can never produce any thing for *Britain*; and to people and ſupport *Florida*, the Southern colonies muſt be confined to their barren and unhealthful ſea-coaſts; the ruinous conſequences of which muſt appear to all, who are in the leaſt acquainted with the concerns of this nation in *North America*. We ſhall by that means be cut off from all the fruitful parts of the Continent; and theſe ruinous acquiſitions will not only depreciate the preſent ſtaple of the colonies, but hinder them to get any others.

IV. Theſe acquiſitions are ſo far from being any ſtrength or ſecurity to the nation, that they deprive it of that ſecurity which it would otherwiſe enjoy—They are like two wings ſeparated from an army at ſuch a diſtance, that they cannot join it, and are liable to be cut off on every attack—They are at ſuch a diſtance from our other colonies, that they can neither ſupport them, nor be ſupported by them—They divide our force, and thereby weaken it—They are extended over a wide ſea-coaſt, 3 or 400 leagues in extent, both

produce nothing, but what *Britain* itſelf abounds with in much greater plenty and perfection; and it is high time, that this ſhould be duely known and attended to, if we would pay any regard to the intereſt of this nation in *North America*, on which ſuch immenſe ſums have

both in *Nova Scotia* and *Florida*, on which there is but here and there a ſpot fit to ſettle; and theſe are at ſuch diſtances from one another, that they can neither ſupport, nor be ſupported by each other, while they are expoſed to every fiſhing veſſel — Hence they can be only ſo many ſnares to involve the nation in a new war—When the *French* ſee ſuch advantages, with the intereſt they will always have among the eſtabliſhed Catholics in *Canada*, it is not in their nature, we may ſay in their power, to neglect them, when they have ſo fair an opportunity to diſtreſs this nation.

V. We need ſay nothing of what theſe acquiſitions coſt, ſince that is but too well known. It was to "defend, "protect, and ſecure *them*," that the nation has been put in ſuch a flame both at home and abroad; the colonies and their mother country have been ſet at variance; and ſuch diſturbances have been raiſed, that they are more to be dreaded than our worſt enemies. Theſe expences, we were told, as a reaſon for ſuch proceedings, amount to 700,000 *l.* a year, more than all our colonies ever coſt, or ever need to coſt, without theſe burdens. This is added to the expences of the war, for no other purpoſe but to deprive the nation of the benefit of her other colonies; the ruinous conſequences of which three muſt certainly appear to all—But neither *Canada*, *Nova Scotia*, *Georgia*, *Eaſt* or *Weſt Florida*, for which all theſe expences are incurred, are able to ſupport their own civil eſtabliſhments, and how are they to ſupport any part of this nation! —Notwithſtanding *Canada* has been ſettled 160 years, and had all the encouragement of *France*, it cannot yet ſupport its own government! which is a certain ſign, that it is worth nothing—Withdraw our men and money, *Canada* could not ſubſiſt,

have been expended. So we cannot expect to make any thing of conſequence to the ſouthward of the 32d degree of latitude, or at leaſt of 31° 30′; the whole continent to the ſouthward of that being a mere ſandy deſert, if it be not in a ſpot or two upon the *Miſſiſippi*, and about

ſubſiſt, and there would be no people in *Florida*—Such colonies certainly were never before thought to be worth poſſeſſing—If at the ſame time we conſider, that they deprive the nation of all the more fruitful parts of the Continent, which alone can be of any ſervice to her, or enable the colonies to ſubſiſt by a dependence on their Mother Country, what can any one think of theſe deſerts!—If we are at this pains to expoſe their ruinous conſequences, it is from a thorough conviction, that they muſt prove the ruin of this nation, if we make this uſe of them. It is for this reaſon, that we could no longer be ſilent about a matter which is of ſuch conſequence and importance to the whole nation, although we can perhaps expect nothing but blame and cenſure for our pains. *Obſequium amicos, veritas odium parit.*

Theſe acquiſitions, indeed, would be no ſuch prejudice and loſs to the nation, if we were to ſettle the other fruitful parts of the Continent with them; which, it is to be feared, we ſhall never do, ſo long as we are at ſuch an expence both of men and money upon theſe. We have not people enough for both; ſo that we throw away our men and money upon theſe unprofitable and ruinous deſerts, in order to deprive ourſelves of all the uſeful and valuable parts of that Continent!—Every one cries out, We have already colonies enough, with all the new added to the old; which is ſo true, that we have by far too many ſuch as theſe. For this reaſon we give up all the territories that could be of any ſervice to the nation, for *Canada* and *Florida!*—The nation engaged in the war to put her colonies in a condition of depending upon her; but now, when it is come to the criſis, we ſeem to be tired and give them up: every thing that is, or has been done, is all done for *them*; when

about St. *Mary*'s river in *Georgia*. Thus the whole of the *Britiſh* dominions, that will produce any thing the nation wants, is reduced to eight degrees of latitude, or 480 miles in length, which is no more than the extent of the iſland of *Britain* from north to ſouth. The breadth again of this part of the *Britiſh* dominions is 620 miles in the north, and 500 in the ſouth; at a medium we may call it 550 miles in breadth from the *Atlantic* ocean to the *Miſſiſippi*, and 500 miles at moſt from north

when it is abſolutely neceſſary both to promote and to preſerve the intereſt of *Britain* in them; the conſequence of which proceedings muſt be, you will loſe the benefit of them, and precipitate them into that ſtate, which you ſo much apprehend; of which we need no more certain proof than what we have ſeen, and may be ſeen by every one from their ſtate and condition.

If we conſider the charges of the army, navy, ordnance, and civil governments, ſince the firſt ſettlement of *Georgia* and *Nova Scotia*, which coſt 600,000 *l.* at firſt, and not leſs than a million in all, theſe two, with *Canada*, *Eaſt* and *Weſt Florida*, cannot have coſt much leſs than three millions; which is certainly too much for this nation, in its preſent circumſtances, to expend in contriving its own ruin.—We ought not therefore to be ruled by a little local knowledge, or other attachment to theſe barren and inhoſpitable deſerts, when all the great and important concerns of this nation may be ruined by them; and the nation is put to ſuch an expence, for no other purpoſe but to ruin her own intereſt, and to force her colonies to become independent, after the immenſe ſums they have coſt—All that we can ever expect from *Canada* or *Florida*, beſides theſe ruinous loſſes, is only to ſend thoſe brave men, who ſignalized themſelves ſo much in the defence of their country, to ſtarve and die at *Penſacola*, and to periſh with the cold and ſcurvy at *Quebec*.

to ſouth, which makes 275,000 ſquare miles. This is the whole of what *Britain* has to depend upon in *North America*, either to ſupply her with the commodities which the nation wants, or to enable her colonies by that means to ſubſiſt by a dependence upon her. Now this is but a little larger than the kingdom of *Poland*, which contains 222,000 ſquare miles; and one half of this, which is the only valuable part of all the *Britiſh* dominions in *North America*, is a barren mountainous or ſandy deſert. The *Apalachean* mountains run through the country, and extend nigh 300 miles from eaſt to weſt, which with the barren lands on the coaſt make at leaſt one half of theſe territories. Thus the whole that is fit for culture, contains but 137,000 ſquare miles, which is the ſize of *France*. If we allow it to contain 150,000, it is but three times as large as *England*, which is all the fertile land that we can depend upon in *North America*, for producing any thing that *Britain* wants *; and

* Every one ſeems to take the Continent of *North America* by the lump, without knowing any thing more about it. They conſider only the quantity of land, without any regard to the quality, which is a certain way to be deceived about it. It is this that deceives every one about the extenſive ſea coaſt we poſſeſs, from the river St. *Laurence* to the *Miſſiſſippi*, which they think muſt be ſufficient for all purpoſes. But the ſea coaſt of *North America* is the moſt unprofitable part of it, and is little better than a nuiſance to the nation, almoſt from one end to the other. In the Northern parts, it is only the coaſt itſelf that is of any ſervice, on account of the fiſhery, in which the colonies interfere

and if we conſider the quantity of land that people require to live merely by their Agriculture, and to purchaſe all their neceſſaries by the produce of it, this will be found to be abſolutely neceſſary for that purpoſe. Were the colonies in *North America* to purchaſe all their neceſſaries from *Britain*, without any Manufactures of their own, they would require the greateſt part of the land here mentioned, which will be abſolutely neceſſary for their

interfere with *Britain*; and in the Southern parts, the ſea coaſt, which makes two thirds of the whole, is a perfect nuiſance to the whole nation, both at home and abroad. Were it not for the ports upon it, this whole coaſt is only fit to be abandoned, as great part of it muſt be. But ports are of no conſequence without commodities to ſhip at them, which the lands will not produce. The whole coaſt of *North America* produces nothing but a little Rice in the deſtructive marſhes. It is only in the inland and fruitful parts of the country, that we can either raiſe colonies, or make any thing in them. This we may learn from the long experience of the *Spaniards*, whoſe dominions are equally barren and unhealthful on the ſea coaſts; and for that reaſon their colonies are all ſettled in the remote inland parts, both of *North* and *South America*, at a ten times greater diſtance from any navigation than the territories of the *Ohio* and *Miſſiſſippi*. By that means likewiſe they are free from thoſe invaſions, to which they would be expoſed on an open ſea coaſt. So that if colonies are more remote from *Britain* in theſe inland countries of *North America*, which are at no great diſtance from the ocean, and are all convenient to navigation, they are more ſecure from the charge of defending and protecting them; in which *Canada*, *Nova Scotia*, and *Florida* will ever involve the nation. There are but a few ſtraggling ſpots in them that can be ſettled, which are expoſed to every invader, while they can neither ſupport one another, nor be ſupported by the reſt, as we have ſaid.

daily and great increaſe, if we would have them to depend upon *Britain*.

This part of the *Britiſh* dominions is divided into three different countries by the mountains, which run through the middle of them from North to South; and from their Southern extremity they run Weſt to the *Miſſiſſippi*, forming two ridges in ſhape of the letter L. On the Eaſt ſide of theſe mountains lie the territories poſſeſſed by our *Southern colonies*; on the Weſt are the *Territories of the Ohio*; and on the South are what we call the *Territories of the Miſſiſſippi*; the two laſt being divided from one another by the *Weſtern* or *Chicaſaw* mountains, which run through them from *Carolina* to the *Miſſiſſippi*. Thus theſe fruitful parts of the *Britiſh* dominions are divided into three, which we may call the Eaſt, Weſt, and South diviſions; each of which contains, at moſt, about 50,000 ſquare miles of good and fertile lands, and forms a country about the ſize of *England*, in climates that are fit to produce every thing the nation wants. If the barren ſands and mountains, which make one half of theſe countries, may hereafter be improved, it is certain, they will not admit of it at preſent, till we have a ſufficient force in the country for that purpoſe, which can only be raiſed upon the more fruitful lands.

Now, it is this Southern diviſion which we ought to ſettle in the firſt place. This extends from the ſea coaſt of *Georgia* to the *Miſſiſſippi*, and

and is bounded on the North by the Weſtern or *Chicaſaw* mountains, and on the South by the Gulf of *Mexico*; the whole of this country is about 500 miles in length from Eaſt to Weſt, and four degrees of latitude or 240 miles broad; this makes 120,000 ſquare miles, of which one half on the ſea coaſt is the barren deſert of *Florida* above deſcribed; the reſt is the fruitful part of the country, which we would propoſe to ſettle. This makes about 60,000 ſquare miles, of which we poſſeſs about 10,000 in *Georgia* and *Carolina*, and have 50,000 to ſettle from that to the *Miſſiſſippi*.

This country may be divided into two parts, the Eaſtern diviſion in *Carolina* and *Georgia*, and the Weſtern on the *Miſſiſſippi*; which would make two good colonies, and they are hardly fit for more, eſpecially on theſe frontiers. The laſt of theſe, known by the name of the country of the *Nauches* on the *Miſſiſſippi*, which extends from the Iſland of *New-Orleans* to the *Chicaſaw* mountains, is well known to be by far the beſt and moſt fruitful country in all theſe Southern parts of *North America*; and extends from the *Miſſiſſippi* to the river *Couſſa*, which falls into the Bay of *Mobile*; making a rich and fertile country about 200 miles ſquare, which would perhaps produce more than all theſe Southern parts of the Continent put together, from that to *Virginia*. In all that diſtance we do not meet with a good and fruitful country of any extent, if it be not in the inland

parts

parts of *North Carolina*, which is but very narrow, and has neither a convenient water-carriage from it, nor a good port belonging to it. The only other fruitful country in these Southern parts of the Continent is in the inland parts of *Georgia*, on the heads of the rivers *Alatamaha* and *St. Mary's*, with *Flint* river adjoining; which is recommended by the *Spaniards* as the most proper place for a settlement, after they had searched the whole country from the Cape of *Florida* to the *Mississippi* *; and some people who live in the country, at the forks of

* "That was a pleasant country, fruitful, and watered with a great many rivers. It produces but little underwood (a sign of good land) but hiccories and mulberry-trees in abundance—It was thought fit by all, that we should people this place; which was so advantageously situated—that the country was exceeding good, and that it might afford a good trade and considerable profit." *Soto's Voyage to Florida*, ch. 14.

This was the old country of the *Creek Indians*, which they left in the year 1715. At a small distance to the Southward of this is the country of the *Apalachees*, on the head of the river *St. Mary's*; which are the fruitful parts of *Georgia*, but they are of no great extent—West of these is *Flint* river, which has been surveyed, and found to be a good and fruitful country, as well as the river *Chatahoochè* adjoining, on which the lower *Creeks* dwell. There are many fruitful spots on these rivers, but with *pine-barrens* between them, as in all the rest of *Carolina*. This country has four large navigable rivers running through it, so as to be the most convenient of all the inland parts of *Carolina*; and if it were annexed to that government, it might make *South Carolina* a good and respectable colony upon these our Southern frontiers.

the

the *Alatamaha*, have given us the ſame account of it, and of the countries adjacent.

Now, if this country in *Georgia* were annexed to *South Carolina*, as far as the river *Chatahoochè*, it would ſoon be ſettled, and would make that a very reſpectable colony on our Southern frontiers, which would ſoon join to the other on the *Miſſiſſippi*, and they might thereby ſuppor one another without any charge to the nation *. It is well known, that *Georgia*

* The only obſtacle to this junction of *Carolina* with the *Miſſiſſippi* proceeds from the *Creek* and *Chactaw Indians*, who lie in the way; but as they are now at war with one another, that obſtacle might be removed by proper management. It was by a like incident, that we got poſſeſſion of *Carolina*, by two powerful nations of *Indians* who held it engaging in war with one another; in which the greateſt part of them were extirpated, and the reſt afterwards fled to the Peninſula of *Florida*. If theſe *Indians* were ſettled there again, they might be out of the way both of harm and miſchief, which they will ever be in, where they are. A great part of them left that country only in the year 1715; where they might get their living by fiſhing and hunting, better than where they are, or nigh our plantations, which extirpate them.

If theſe and all the other *Indians* in the *Britiſh* dominions were at the ſame time deprived of fire-arms, we might be rid of all future trouble from them; and that might eaſily be done, now when they have none to ſupply them. It is only by that means, that their inſurrections are to be prevented, and with more humanity than by endeavouring to extirpate them. By depriving them of fire-arms, we might ſave the few remains of them, and render them of ſome ſervice to the nation. If ever *Florida* is peopled and cultivated, it will only be by the *Indians*, who are a vaſt advantage

gia was only ſeparated from *Carolina*, to pleaſe the *Indians*, who would not ſuffer the *Caro-*

tage to *Spain*, and might be rendered as ſerviceable to *Britain*, inſtead of a perpetual annoyance. For this purpoſe we have only to ſupply them with implements of huſbandry, in place of fire-arms. So long as an *Indian* can get a gun, he will never mind any thing elſe, and is never to be kept out of miſchief.

Another cauſe of theſe inſurrections of the *Indians* proceeds from the banditti of *Indian* Traders, who go among them, and are worſe than the *Indians* themſelves. They are there out of reach of the law, and obſerve no one law of civil ſociety. The ſending of ſuch people among the *Indians* begets that familiarity, which gives them a contempt of the whole nation; but by keeping them more in awe, and at a diſtance, without ſuch parlies and *talks* with them, they would have a greater reſpect for it.—For theſe reaſons, none of them ſhould ever be ſuffered to go among the *Indians*—Their trade ſhould be confined to one or two places, where juſtice might be done, and good order preſerved. For this purpoſe, *Oſwego* in the North, and *Auguſta* in the South, would be ſufficient for all the *Indian* trade in *North America*; if it be not what *New-England* has ſo well eſtabliſhed and regulated in the Eaſt by the ſame means. If their trade were confined to theſe two places, the Northern *Indians* would be drawn to *Canada*, and the great lakes, where the furs are to be had, and where they could only find a vent for them; and the Southern *Indians* would find it as convenient to ſettle in their former country of *Florida*; by which the nation would reap the benefit of both theſe acquiſitions, much better than by any other means, or by being at ſuch an expence both of men and money, to ſettle and protect them; and the *Indians* would at the ſame time leave all the fruitful parts of the Continent, here mentioned, for us to cultivate—This is the plan, which we would humbly propoſe for the ſettling and ſecuring of *North America*; to keep the *Indians* upon theſe frontiers both in the North and South, for which they are only fit; and to unite our force in the center, where all the fruitful lands lie, that will ever produce any thing for *Britain*.

linians ſettle to the Southward of the river *Savannah*, after their quarrel with them in the year 1715; but that is now rather a reaſon for enlarging and ſtrengthening that colony, which in 100 years is hardly able to defend itſelf againſt its inteſtine foes, negroes, and *Indians*. This ſtate it has been reduced to, by diſmembering it, and erecting a ſeparate colony, which has no people hardly in it to this day, and is not able to ſupport its own government, notwithſtanding the vaſt charges it has coſt, amounting to 200,000 *l.* at leaſt, more than was ever before expended on all the colonies we have. This is a certain ſign, that *Georgia* is not fit for a ſeparate colony and government. The whole is but a ſmall ſpot, and the fruitful lands in it would not make more than one or two good counties. We cannot therefore ſee the propriety of putting the public to the expence of maintaining ſuch petty governments on theſe our naked and defenceleſs frontiers, which they weaken more and more, by dividing their force. For theſe reaſons, it is propoſed to annex *Georgia* to *South Carolina*, to which it properly belongs; and which it might ſtrengthen: And in lieu of this, *North Carolina* ſhould be extended to *Wineau*, as that is the only port to all the inland and fruitful parts of that country, which hardly produces any thing for want of ſuch a port, although, in point of fertility, it is perhaps of more value than all

the reſt of both the *Carolinas* and *Georgia* put together *.

Now, if this were done, and all the ſtraggling and unprofitable ſettlements of *Canada*, *Nova Scotia*, *Eaſt* and *Weſt Florida*, were united in one on the *Miſſiſippi*, the nation might be rid of this enormous expence in " defending, protecting, and ſecuring them ;" they would ſecure theſe more valuable parts of the *Britiſh* dominions, and by being united together might be able to defend themſelves; the nation would thereby have lands for all the Planters we have, inſtead of obliging them to enter into Manufactures for want of lands to cultivate; and we ſhould thus have two good and profitable colonies in the

* There are few or no good lands in *North America*, but upon the ſides of rivers; it is by means of the many large rivers in *Virginia* and *Maryland*, that they have ſome fruitful lands on their banks; and there are five large rivers which riſe in the inland parts of *North Carolina*, the banks of which are rich and fertile, although the hills between them ſtill partake of the barrenneſs of *Carolina*, as we are well informed by ſeveral, whom we have recommended to ſettle in the country. This ſeems to be the moſt improveable part of all the *Britiſh* dominions on this ſide of the *Miſſiſſippi*; but as it lies in the narrow compaſs of a degree and an half of latitude, the beſt lands are taken up, and are a very ſmall ſpot for ſo many people as we have in *North America*. They have likewiſe no navigation nor ports to the more fruitful parts of the country, if it be not by the river *Pedee*, which runs through all this inland part of *North Carolina*, and falls into the ſea at *Wineau*, which now belongs to *South Carolina*; and for that reaſon it is neglected and never uſed by the other, which poſſeſſes the fruitful lands belonging to this port.

Southern parts of *America*, which might ſupply the nation with the many valuable commodities that are ſo much wanted, and would produce more for *Britain* than all our colonies in *North America* put together. Had *Carolina* been a fruitful and healthful country, it would long ago have been the moſt conſiderable and profitable colony the nation has; and the only way to render both that country and *Florida* of that ſervice to the nation, is, to ſettle the inland and weſtern parts, which are as fruitful and healthful, as the eaſtern and maritime parts, to which we are confined, are the reverſe of both: and when theſe are peopled and ſecured, it will be eaſy to extend their ſettlements up the *Miſſiſippi*, and acroſs both the *Apalachean* and *Chicaſaw* mountains to the *territories of the Ohio*, by which we may ſecure, people and cultivate every part of the *Britiſh* dominions, that can be of any ſervice to the nation. By that means we might have lands for all the people in *North America* to live by their Agriculture, as all colonies ſhould do; they would here likewiſe have room to enlarge their plantations, as they wear out; whereas by confining them to ſuch pitiful ſpots, as the ſandy point of *Eaſt Florida*, they would exhauſt it in a very few years, if it were much richer than any would alledge *.

It

* By thus ſtrengthening *Carolina* we might have a ſtrong and powerful colony, which might be able to defend itſelf,

It is by theſe means, and by theſe alone, that the nation can reap the advantages of the late peace, or indemnify herſelf for the charges of the war. Nay the territories here mentioned were the very object and occaſion of the war. It was in order to enlarge their plantations of ſtaple commodities for *Britain*, and to find lands for that purpoſe, that the colonies extended their ſettlements beyond the mountains, to the river *Ohio*; from which the *French* expelled them, which was the immediate occaſion of the war. Theſe territories are the only object in all *North America* to this nation, and by cultivating theſe ſhe might have ſome recompence for the many millions that have been expended, which there is no other way to obtain. The poſſeſſion of *Canada* and *Florida* will only

on our ſouthern frontiers, as *New-England* is in the north; and theſe two might ſave all the expences of thoſe five new governments, which would coſt nigh half a million a year to ſecure them, and after all, can only expoſe the nation to perpetual inſults and invaſions. If theſe colonies may become too large or populous, which there is no reaſon to apprehend in ſuch a ſoil and climate, it is time enough to divide them, as they do the counties in the colonies, when they have a ſufficient number of people in them, to defray the charge of a county, or government, and not before they have any, or are ever likely to have. By thus eſtabliſhing ſo many little defenceleſs colonies and ſettlements, we only expoſe the nation again to inſults and expences on their account. It was juſtly ſaid by a *French* commander, that the fortifications of our colonies were towns and villages, and the people were the garriſons; but now we eſtabliſh forts and garriſons, to protect the people where there are none, and where there are never likely to be any, to defend them.

deprive

deprive the nation of theſe advantages, while they can be none in themſelves, but a perpetual burden and charge. We muſt no doubt own, that the reduction of theſe countries is a very great ſervice to the nation, providing ſhe makes a right uſe of that advantage; by the expulſion of our enemies from theſe and their other *encroachments*, the colonies are at liberty to extend their ſettlements to the more fruitful parts of the continent, which they otherwiſe could not do with ſafety; but if we exclude them from theſe, for the ſake of *Canada* and *Florida*, we loſe all the advantages, which we might otherwiſe obtain from the peace. Wherefore, they who would magnify *Canada* and *Florida* as valuable and profitable colonies, to which we ſhould be confined, deprive the nation of all the advantages which have been acquired by his majeſty's arms, and render the peace ten times worſe than it is, or would be, if it were ever ſo bad; they render all the acquiſitions obtained by it much worſe than nothing, when they might otherwiſe be made the greateſt advantage to the nation. We engaged in the war for thoſe fruitful territories on the *Ohio* and *Miſſiſippi*, which we got by the peace; but by the regulations after it we are deprived of them, and thereby conſpire with our enemies, to deprive ourſelves of thoſe very advantages, which it was their aim to do by the war; while we get no more by *Canada* and *Florida*, than to relieve them of a burden and charge,

charge, and to ſaddle ourſelves with it! It muſt be apparent to every one, who are acquainted with the products of our colonies, that no part of that continent will produce any thing for *Britain*, but what lies between the 40th and 32d, or at moſt the 31ſt degrees of latitude, as we have ſaid; but by the proclamation ſo often quoted, which regulates the bounds of our colonies, we are excluded from all thoſe fruitful and valuable territories, which might be of any ſervice to the nation; and are confined to the barren ſands in the ſouth, or frozen deſerts in the north, which can be nothing but a burden and charge, and a direct way to ruin the whole nation. The conſequence is, the colonies are in a much worſe ſituation, after all the expences that have been incurred, and the acquiſitions we have made, than they were before; they are now involved in debt, and have no viſible way of paying their debts; their ſtaple commodities are failed, and they have no lands to increaſe them; they are unable to purchaſe their neceſſaries from *Britain*, and are obliged to eſtabliſh manufactures; they are drained of money; are unable to comply with acts of parliament, &c. all which muſt daily grow worſe, till they extend their ſettlements to the territories here mentioned; and might have been prevented by that means, inſtead of increaſing thoſe evils by the contrary meaſures.

If

If we would uſe any certain and effectual means to remedy this bad ſtate of the colonies, or to prevent its evil conſequences, we ſhould give them lands that will produce ſtaple commodities to ſend to *Britain*; for which the colonies were ſettled, and which is the only uſe of them. How neceſſary ſuch lands are, will appear from their ſtate above deſcribed. The northern colonies cannot produce any thing on account of the climate; the middle colonies are moſtly worn out; and the ſouthern are as barren as they are unhealthful; this is the true cauſe of their bad ſtate, which muſt daily grow worſe without an extenſion of their ſettlements to more fruitful lands, and a more proper climate. It was for ſuch territories that the nation engaged in the war, if we yet know what we were about, but does not poſſeſs a foot of them. We are burdened with the charge of ſupporting *Canada* and *Florida*, and are excluded from the *Ohio* and *Miſſiſippi*, which laſt was all that we wanted. And although every one imagines, that we have land enough, as they call it, ſince the reduction of *Canada* and *Florida*, yet as theſe can only interfere with our other colonies, they make other lands more neceſſary for them, than they were before. Every one indeed ſeems to imagine, that ſuch lands are only wanted for *them*, and for that reaſon they pay no regard to them; in which they do not ſo much as underſtand their own intereſt. The colonies have lands enough to

ſupply

ſupply themſelves with their own neceſſaries and manufactures, but as they will produce little or nothing that is wanted in *Britain*, and their products are the ſame with thoſe of *Britain* itſelf, they muſt interfere with her, and may thereby become rather a prejudice than any benefit to the nation at home. It is for this reaſon, that many apprehend, the colonies muſt become independent, and may ruin their mother country, and we may ſee by what means. That can only happen for want of lands which will produce ſtaple commodities for *Britain*, from which *Britain* herſelf excludes them! But if ſhe would conſult her own intereſt, or conſider in what it conſiſts, ſhe ſhould confine her colonies to thoſe territories alone, above mentioned, from which ſhe excludes them; and ſhould exclude them from all other new ſettlements, to which ſhe would confine them. If the colonies were poſſeſſed of thoſe territories on the *Ohio* and *Miſſiſippi*, their great and daily increaſe would be the greateſt advantage to this nation, inſtead of a cauſe of jealouſy and ſuſpicion. Every perſon in the *North American* colonies is worth twenty ſhillings a year to *Britain*, even in the poor and barren countries and inhoſpitable climates they poſſeſs, and on the *Ohio* and *Miſſiſippi* they would be worth at leaſt 40 *s.* a head *per annum*. But ſuppoſe they were to bring in only twenty ſhillings a year, their numbers will ſoon be ſix millions, and they would be worth ſo many pounds

pounds ſterling to this nation, which is certainly an object worthy of conſideration. It is by theſe means, and by theſe alone, that the nation can indemnify herſelf for the expences of the war, or maintain her colonies in a ſtate of dependence upon her. On the other hand, if they are excluded from theſe fruitful parts of the Continent, they may become a prejudice to the nation. The difference will not be leſs than five or ſix millions a year, with the probable loſs of the colonies at laſt.

This nation wants many of the moſt neceſſary and valuable commodities, as we have ſaid, on which ſhe expends her treaſure to the amount of four or five millions a year, which might be all ſaved by making them in the colonies. It was to ſupply the nation with theſe commodities, that the colonies were planted; and there is no way for the nation at home to reap the benefit of them, or for them to ſubſiſt in a ſtate of dependence for their ſupplies, but by ſuch products of their lands, which the greateſt part of them will not yield. More than three-fourths or four-fifths of that Continent are not fit for *Britiſh* colonies, as they will produce nothing but what *Britain* herſelf does. The firſt thing to be regarded is the ſoil and climate, of which there are none to be met with, fit to produce any thing that this nation wants, if it be not in the Southern parts of that Continent, and there only in the three diviſions above mentioned. It is only by ſettling theſe, that

we can ever have any number of people in the Southern parts of the Continent, where the whole intereſt of the nation lies, as we have ſaid. If it was therefore an enquiry, why we have ſo few people in our Southern colonies, we may now ſee the cauſe of it; and the way to remedy that baneful ſtate of the nation. The confining of the Northern colonies to their preſent bounds, according to the proclamation iſſued for that purpoſe, is, no doubt, a wiſe and ſalutary meaſure, as they can have no lands beyond thoſe limits, but what are much worſe and more unfit for *Britiſh* colonies, than what they already poſſeſs *; but for that reaſon it is abſolutely

* The preſent Northern Colonies may ſubſiſt within themſelves, and be of ſervice to the nation, as they have hitherto been; but an enlargement of them would obſtruct both. When the people come to be numerous in a colony, they ſtarve one another, without ſtaple commodities, manufactures, or a trade in them—The very being of theſe colonies ſeems to depend upon their timber and ſhip-building, by which they carry on their trade and fiſhery, the two great ſources of their ſubſiſtence; but by ſettling all the countries round them, they would ſoon deſtroy their timber, which is ſo neceſſary for their ſupport. Theſe ought therefore to be kept in woods, both to ſupply them, and our Sugar colonies. It is well known, that new ſettlements make no other uſe of timber, but to deſtroy it as faſt as they can; which indeed is neceſſary to clear the land for Corn and Graſs; when theſe colonies are already obliged to make laws to preſerve their timber, and to ſend ſome hundred miles by ſea for firewood.

For theſe reaſons, we are apt to think that *New-England* does not conſult her own intereſt, by deſiring to ſettle the territories of *Sagadahock* and St. *Croix*; from which they are

abſolutely neceſſary to extend our ſettlements in the South. There are not leſs than a million of people in theſe Northern colonies, who cannot make any one thing to ſend to *Britain*; and how are they to live by a dependence upon her?

are already obliged even to get firewood. It ſeems indeed, on this account, to be very proper to annex thoſe territories to *New-England*; but not to ſettle them, and deſtroy the timber, which is ſo convenient to navigation—By making ſettlements there, they would not only deſtroy their timber, but create new rivals to themſelves in the fiſhery, who would be ſo much more convenient to it; whereas ſettlements in the Southern parts of the Continent would help to ſupport the Northern. The great things wanted by the Northern colonies, which depend ſo much upon trade, are commodities to trade in, and people to trade with, both of which they might find, by making ſettlements on the *Miſſiſſippi* and *Ohio*.

Many ſeem to think, that we may raiſe populous colonies, ſuch as *New-England*, on theſe Northern coaſts, which appears to be impracticable; and happy it is for *Britain*, that it is ſo. All theſe countries North of the ſettlements in *New-England*, lie within the verge of the *Northern ſnowy mountains* on one hand, and the iſlands of ice on the other, which render the climate unfit for Agriculture, on account of the perpetual froſts, or more pernicious cold fogs. Theſe mountains run down to the ſea coaſt, and leave but here and there a ſpot fit to inhabit; ſo a ridge of theſe bare and barren mountains runs through the whole Peninſula of *Nova Scotia*. Hence there are but a few inconſiderable ſpots fit to cultivate, and the land is covered with a cold ſpongy moſs in place of Graſs, as all countries are, which are ſo drenched with ſnow. "The land is ſo barren, that Corn does not come up well in it; and though "never ſo much pains be taken to manure it, ſtill the crop "will be very inconſiderable, and they are often obliged to "throw it up at laſt. For this reaſon they are obliged to "ſow

her? Theſe people have been petitioning for lands for many years, and if you will not grant them any, what can they do but ſupply themſelves with their own neceſſaries and manufactures, independent of *Britain?* Many of them have removed to the more inhoſpitable climes

" few Corn on their marſhes." *Relation de l'Acadie*, p. m. 283.

This is the account which the *French* give of *Nova Scotia*, from 100 years experience; and this has made it ſo difficult to people that country, which hardly produces either Corn or Graſs, if it be not in a few marſhes, and theſe are not fit for Corn in any part of the world. Yet we are told in *the regulations of the colonies*, " by clearing away the wood, " they will ſoften the rigour of the climate, and find themſelves richly overpaid in the *inexhauſtible fertility* of the " ſoil;" both of which are as contrary to truth, as any thing that could be imagined. The clearing of the woods would render thoſe countries much more uninhabitable than they are; as muſt appear to all who are acquainted with the climate of *North America*; and the land is not worth the charge of clearing, as it muſt all be *grubbed*; the ſoil is ſo barren, that we ſee, manure itſelf will hardly make it yield a crop, not even now, when it is freſh and fertile. The earth is ſo chilled by the froſts, ſnows, and perpetual cold fogs, both in winter and ſummer, that it ſeems not to have warmth enough in it to rot manure, and make it yield its nouriſhment—It is not in the nature of things, that any land, whatever it may be to appearance, can be fruitful in ſuch climates—In ſuch frozen regions, we never meet with a fruitful ſoil in any part of the world, and much leſs in *North America*—The fertility of the earth proceeds from its warmth, which is not to be expected in the froſts, ſnows, and fogs of *Canada* and *Nova Scotia*—Such countries muſt be very unfit to yield any thing for *Britain*; and if they do not, we cannot ſee the uſe of maintaining colonies in them at ſuch an expence. And this is the caſe of all *America* North of *New England*; where colonies can only ſubſiſt by the fiſhery, and muſt ruin that of *Britain*.

of

of *Nova Scotia*, or the *deſerts of New Jerſey*, where they are loſt to the nation, and find it ſo difficult to ſubſiſt in theſe deſerts, that they are again obliged to return to their own country, we are told. They are now, and have been for many years, petitioning for thoſe lands on the *Ohio* and *Miſſiſſippi*; which if they do not get, they have no reſources left, but to apply to Manufactures, and to carry on a trade in them, by which they will ſoon ſupply the reſt of *America*. There are not leſs than 2 or 300,000 people in *North America*, who are in this ſituation, and want lands to make ſtaple commodities for *Britain*; who would ſoon eſtabliſh a good and reſpectable colony in any of the fruitful parts of the Continent here mentioned, but will never go either to *Canada*, *Nova Scotia*, or *Florida*. It is for theſe people that lands are wanted, but not either for *Greeks* or *Britons*. If a few foreigners, ſuch as the *Greeks*, or any others, may be procured to join theſe people from the Northern and other colonies, as many may from all parts of *Europe*, in order to ſecure the country at firſt; they may be of ſome ſervice in the countries we mention, but in any others they muſt prove a prejudice to the nation, after all the charges they will coſt; and even in theſe, a few would be ſufficient, as theſe lands are wanted for the daily increaſe of the colonies.

If theſe countries are ſettled, they will produce many commodities, which may for ever keep

keep the colonies from interfering with their Mother Country, and prove the greateſt ſervice to the whole nation both at home and abroad. In all the three diviſions of the *Britiſh* dominions here mentioned, both the ſoil and climate are ſo different from what they are in *Britain*, that their products will never be the ſame, as they are in moſt of our other colonies. This will always make the products of the one wanted by the other; and that keeps up the connection and correſpondence between the colonies and *Britain*, which is what we call their ſubſiſting by a dependence upon her. It is by that means, and by no other, that this their dependence is to be preſerved, and rendered as beneficial to the one, as the other; and it is for want of ſuch means of ſubſiſting, that we ſee ſuch differences between them, that they are at laſt likely to end in a ſeparation, unleſs their connection is preſerved by the ties here mentioned.

To give an account of the ſeveral commodities which theſe countries, and our other colonies, might produce, and the proper ſoil and climates for them, would require a treatiſe of itſelf, which was intended to be the chief part of this diſcourſe; but as the preſent part has drawn it to ſuch a length, the other muſt be deferred to ſome other opportunity. In the mean time it might be eaſy to ſhew many commodities of the greateſt value, which might be made in the territories of the *Miſſiſſippi* and *Ohio*. That whole

whole country, from the iſland of *New Orleans* to the river *Ohio* and *Illinois*, is the richeſt and moſt fruitful of any in the *Britiſh* dominions, and extends upwards of a thouſand miles, containing more fruitful lands than are in all our colonies put together. There are no good lands in all *North America*, but upon the ſides of rivers, and as the *Miſſiſſippi* is ſo much larger than all the other rivers in that Continent, the lands upon it are as much more extenſive and fertile. This we are aſſured of by thoſe who were ſent from *Virginia*, in 1742, on purpoſe to ſurvey thoſe countries, who reported, 'they 'ſaw more good land on the *Miſſiſſippi*, and its 'many large branches, than they judged was 'in all the *Engliſh* colonies, as far as they are 'inhabited.' The ſame is confirmed by the *French*, who tell us from experience of them, 'the lands on both ſides of the *Miſſiſſippi* are 'excellent for culture, and produce *Indian* 'Corn, *Tobacco*, *Indigo*, &c. and all kinds of 'proviſions, with little or no care or labour, 'and almoſt without culture; the ſoil being a 'black mould of an excellent quality *.' More particularly, in the county of the *Natches* above-mentioned, we are told by a Planter of ſixteen years experience in that country, the ſoil is a fertile mould three feet deep on the hills, and five or ſix feet deep in the vallies, with a ſtrong clayey foundation †; the like of

* *Du Mont Memoires de la Louiſiane*, Tom. i. p. 16.
† *Du Pratz* Hiſt. *Louiſiana*, Tom. i. p. 263.

which is certainly not to be ſeen any where elſe in all theſe Southern parts of *North America*. Even the hill ſides are covered with *canes*, which in our colonies only grow in the deepeſt and richeſt ſwamps.

Such lands have a natural moiſture in them, which is the very ſoil that both *Hemp*, *Flax*, and *Indigo* delight in; and theſe are the three firſt commodities that the nation wants from the colonies. Upon ſuch lands Hemp and Flax might be made in quantities, as a ſtaple commodity to ſend to *Britain*; whereas on the poor lands in our colonies, and their ſmall plantations, they can only make a little for their own uſe. The one would be the greateſt ſervice, when the other is a prejudice to the nation. The climate likewiſe is as fit for theſe commodities. H[illegible]hey might ſow Hemp and Flax in wint[illegible]hich is the only proper ſeaſon for them in any part of *North America*, as we have ſhewn above. This would afford time for making another crop in ſummer, which ſhould be *Indigo*. Now a crop of Indigo, Hemp, and Flax, would be much more profitable, than any thing that *America* produces, whether on the Continent or the Iſlands. Every labourer might cultivate two acres or more in Hemp, and one or two in Indigo, the produce of which would be worth from 30 to 40 pounds a year. This would enable them to purchaſe negroes, and to enlarge the *Britiſh* plantations, beyond what they are

are otherwiſe capable of. Such plantations would be more profitable than even Sugar colonies, and ſupply the nation with more valuable and neceſſary articles. A hundred thouſand labourers, which might be eaſily found in all our colonies, taken together, would at this rate of 20 *l.* a head, make two millions a year; but ſuppoſe they make only one half of this, it is as much as all our colonies in *North America* now produce.—If we compare this with the barren deſerts of *Canada* and *Florida*, what a wide difference is there!

By theſe means the nation might get the trade both of *Indigo*, *Hemp* and *Flax*, and ſupply all *Europe* with theſe commodities, as we now do with *Tobacco*; which laſt theſe lands are as fit to produce, in much greater plenty and perfection than any other part of *North America*. And when our Tobacco plantations are worn out, there are no lands to ſupply their place in all the *Britiſh* dominions, but thoſe on the *Miſſiſippi*. There are three things neceſſary for a Tobacco plantation; to wit, rich and fertile lands; good paſturage for maintaining ſtocks of cattle for manure; and an inland navigation, with convenient ports, to ſhip off ſuch a groſs and bulky commodity from every plantation; which three conveniencies you will not find in any part of *North America*, but in the Tobacco plantations, and on the *Miſſiſippi*. Our Tobacco planters therefore may find others there, when their old plantations are worn out, as moſt of

them already are, and will all be in time. To theſe they may ſend their negroes, as they lately did to the mountains, when they cannot maintain them elſewhere. It was for this purpoſe, that they petitioned for lands on the *Miſſiſippi*, and ſome of them made ſettlements not far from it, even before the war; and many ſettled on the heads of the *Ohio*; but the only port to all theſe inland parts of the continent, is at the mouth of the *Miſſiſippi*; which is more convenient than the mountains, on which moſt of our Tobacco is now made, however remote ſome may reckon it, who are unacquainted with that continent. It is but 500 miles, in a ſtraight line, from the ſea coaſt of *Carolina* and *Georgia*, which is no great way to go for good lands in *North America*, eſpecially in theſe barren ſands. We remember in our days, when the mountains, which are now the center of our beſt plantations, were reckoned to be more remote than the *Miſſiſippi* is now *.

Thus

* At preſent indeed it might not be ſo proper to make Tobacco on the *Miſſiſippi*, ſo long as our old plantations will produce it in ſufficient quantities; or at leaſt till they have ſome better and more profitable ſtaple, which they ſo much want, and might eaſily get. If the colonies plant only one or two commodities, as they now do, and interfere with one another, it is the way to ruin them all, and the intereſt of *Britain* in them. But the ſettling of the Planters themſelves in theſe countries is not to interfere with them, but to ſupply them with freſh lands, of which they are in want; and it is only by that means, that they have hitherto kept up their Tobacco plantations, or will ever

Thus we ſee, that the territories of the *Ohio* and *Miſſiſippi* are very fit to produce *Tobacco*, *Indigo*, *Hemp* and *Flax*, which are the grand ſtaple commodities of *North America*; and it is to produce theſe, that lands are wanted there. Theſe are likewiſe the proper crops for freſh wood

ever be able to do it. Such commodities as either Tobacco, Indigo, Hemp, or Flax, can only be made to advantage, or in any quantities, on freſh wood lands, and in woody countries, which afford plenty of maſt and paſturage in the woods, and maintain their ſtock, while the people beſtow their time and labour on theſe their ſtaple commodities; it is by theſe means, that we have hitherto made ſuch quantities of Tobacco; but as ſoon as theſe reſources are exhauſted, they are obliged to turn their lands into Corn and Paſture grounds, in order to get the neceſſaries of life, which theſe exhauſting weeds rob them of. We ſhall therefore ſoon find a ſupply of freſh lands on the *Miſſiſippi*, neceſſary to keep up our Tobacco plantations, if they are not already. It is for want of ſuch lands, that theſe colonies are ſo much in debt, and are obliged to eſtabliſh Manufactures—They may perhaps think, as many have always done, that the making of more Tobacco may depreciate the value of it; but many are of the contrary opinion, and think it is the only way to preſerve the Trade. The ſtaple of a country, which may be made in ſo many different parts of the world, ſhould not be made dear, otherwiſe you will loſe the Trade in it. It was only the plenty of good and fertile lands, that has hitherto given us the Tobacco Trade; but when theſe are exhauſted, we muſt loſe it, as we already have one half of it.

The low price of our Tobacco does not proceed from the quantity we make, but from rivals in the Trade, and the Tobacco plantations in *Europe*, which now produce at leaſt 100,000 hogſheads a year, more than we make in all *America*. Thus we do not make half the quantity of Tobacco that is conſumed, and wanted in the ſeveral mar-

wood lands, or new ſettlements. Lands which will not produce theſe at firſt, are not worth poſſeſſing. In a few years they are worn out, and will hardly yield the neceſſaries of life. It is for this reaſon, that on our poor plantations freſh lands will always be wanted for theſe

kets of *Europe*. It is this that makes ſo many competitors in the Trade, and threatens to ruin it. When our Tobacco bears a price, they immediately make ſuch quantities in *Europe*, that we have no vent for it; but as our Tobacco is ſo much better than theirs, if we were conſtantly to make a ſufficient quantity, as cheap as they can afford it, we might ſoon put down their plantations, gain a monopoly of the Trade, and put our own price on Tobacco, which appears to be the only way to raiſe it; and this might eaſily be done, by ſuch plenty of rich and fruitful lands as are upon the *Miſſiſippi* and *Ohio*. Now, ſuch a monopoly of the Tobacco Trade, or 100,000 hogſheads, would be worth nigh a million a year to *Britain*, over and above what it now clears; which is about 1,100,000 l. *per ann.* including the duty and all charges.

Such freſh lands are more wanted for the making of Tobacco on another account. When the plantations came to be exhauſted, the Tobacco was ſo bad, that it would hardly pay the freight and charges upon it; for which reaſon they were obliged to make a law, in 1733, to burn all that ſhould be deemed bad by inſpectors; but this was no relief to the people, to burn what their lands bore, when they would produce no better. This obliged many to quit their plantations, and others to turn them into farms, or Corn and Paſture grounds, to ſupply themſelves. Neither was this a way to preſerve the Tobacco Trade, however convenient it may be on many accounts. They often burn better Tobacco than their rivals and competitors in the Trade can make, which has ſo much increaſed their plantations, to the ruin of ours. This, we remember, was foretold at the time when this law paſſed, and it hath accordingly happened.

com-

commodities, which no other part of the *Britiſh* dominions will produce. Here likewiſe they have the neceſſaries of life with little or no coſt or labor, which is as neceſſary to make ſtaple commodities for *Britain*. The paſtures are covered with green graſs knee high, and as high as a man in the vallies, the like of which is not to be ſeen in any other part of *North America*; ſuch lands yield three and fourſcore buſhels of Corn to an acre; and the cattle maintain themſelves the whole year without the charge of feeding them *. Hence the country abounds with wild kine, a large creature like an ox, with a fleece like a ſheep; the wool, hides, and tallow of which are of great value; but in our colonies the paſturage is ſo poor, that there are none to be ſeen. How different is this from the barren ſands of *Florida*, which neither produce Corn nor Graſs! or even from our northern colonies, where many can hardly make Corn to eat, and they are obliged to ſpend their whole year's labor on maintaining a few cattle in winter! The very offals of a plantation here would yield more Corn and proviſions, than they can make in our northern colonies, while it would produce theſe ſtaple commodities for *Britain* at the ſame time. Here then the colonies of *New-England* or others, which want Corn, might be ſupplied both for their own uſe, and their trade; and the iſlands might by that means be ſupplied at

* See *Du Pratz, ibid.*

a cheaper

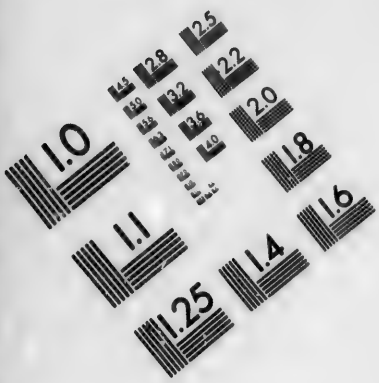
a cheaper rate. But by confining them in their ſettlements, Corn is become more valuable to make than any thing for *Britain*; and they will ſoon have but little to ſpare at that price.

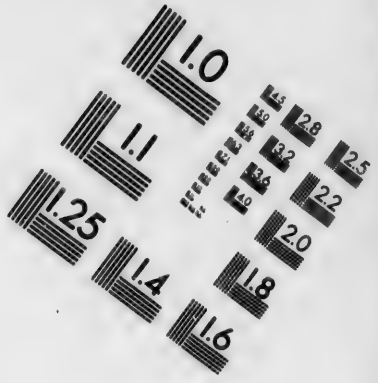
At the ſame time theſe countries are as healthful, as they are fruitful; although we are told by thoſe who have only heard of *New Orleans*, that the *Miſſiſippi* is very unhealthful, as all the maritime parts both of *North* and *South America* are. But the whole country from the iſland of *New Orleans* to the river *Ohio* is high, dry and hilly, refreſhed with cooling breezes from the adjacent mountains, which aſſuage the heat of the climate, and render it healthful. The banks of the *Miſſiſippi*, on the eaſt ſide, are from 100 to 2 and 300 feet high, without a marſh near them. It is likewiſe obſerved, throughout all theſe countries on the *Miſſiſippi*, that it ſeldom rains. The *Apalachean* mountains intercept the clouds brought up from the ocean, and render the ſeaſons both dry and healthful. How different this, from the low flat and ſandy, marſhy and rainy ſea coaſts of all our ſouthern colonies, and of *Florida!* If we would people theſe ſouthern parts of *America*, where the whole intereſt of the nation lies, it will only be in theſe countries, where it might be ſo eaſily done. And if the nation would expect any indemnity for her expences in the war, it can only be obtained from ſuch countries as theſe, which were the very objects of the war.

When

When theſe lands are cleared, and exhauſted with Tobacco, Indigo, Hemp and Flax, they will produce Silk, Cotton, Wine and Oil, for ever; which are the great commodities that this nation wants. It is ſuch commodities as theſe that we ſhould call *acquiſitions*. Theſe are the proper produce of *North America*, and render colonies there ſo beneficial to *Britain*, but of much leſs conſequence either to *France* or *Spain*. They make theſe commodities at home, and would be loſers by making them in *North America*. Colonies there, whoſe ſtaple muſt ſoon be Silk, Wine and Oil, could not depend upon *France* or *Spain*: Hence it is the greateſt folly in them, to endeavour to raiſe colonies in *North America*. Such a falſe policy could only be equalled, by *Britain* confining her colonies to countries whoſe ſtaple is Corn and Wool. The iſland of *Hiſpaniola* is of more ſervice to *France*, than *North America*; and if we are excluded from the *Miſſiſippi*, *Britain* will loſe by her ſucceſſes, what *France* has gained by her defeats—profitable colonies in *America*.

But beſides theſe or the like new ſettlements, the great thing wanted in the colonies is ſome ſtaple for our old plantations, which are worn out with theſe and the like crops, or would never produce them. The ſtaple commodities which they have hitherto made to ſend to *Britain*, are only ſuch as are proper for freſh wood lands, and when theſe are exhauſted, as the moſt





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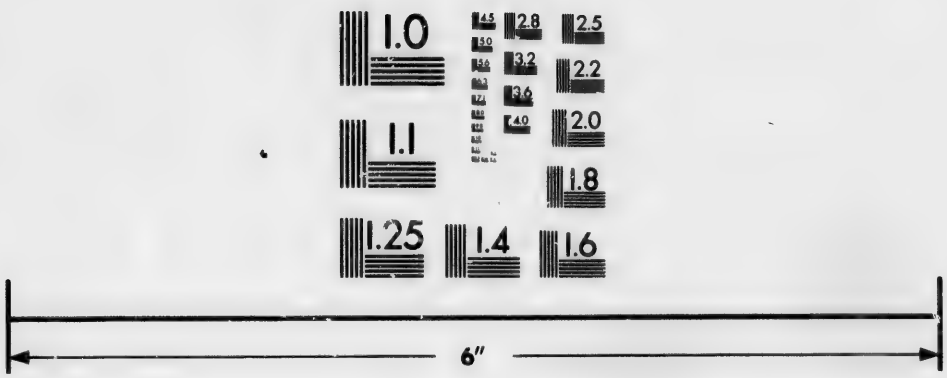

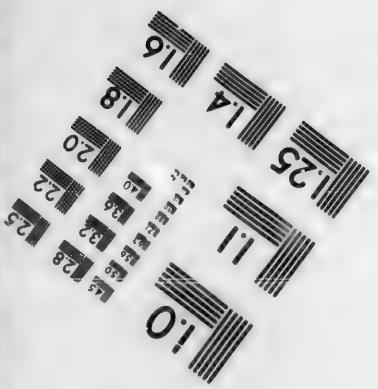

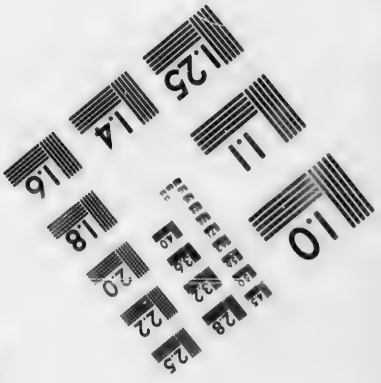

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moſt and beſt of them now are, they have no others. Thus when their lands are brought into order for culture and tillage, they are no longer of any ſervice to the nation at home. They are then turned into Corn and Paſture grounds, which produce nothing but Corn and Wool; and as theſe cannot be ſent to *Britain*, the colonies are obliged to make their own manufactures with them, and to interfere with their mother country both in agriculture and manufactures. It is for this reaſon that freſh lands, and new improvements for the old, are both ſo much wanted; and let any one judge, whether this is intended *for them*, as is given out, or for the intereſt of *Britain!* Many ſuch improvements have been propoſed for the colonies, ever ſince they were firſt planted, but none of them have ever been brought to perfection. There is not a colony we have in *North America*, but what would, in the opinion of ſome or other, who ſtill maintain theſe opinions contrary to ſuch ample experience, produce almoſt every thing that the nation wants; but they have never yet produced any one thing that has been propoſed, and the nation has been diſappointed in all its hopes and expectations now for 150 years. The very meaſures that are taken to promote theſe deſigns, are the greateſt obſtruction to them, and muſt render theſe diſappointments everlaſting. It is therefore high time, that we ſhould conſider and attend to the cauſes of the frequent miſcarriages in all theſe deſigns, which appear to be the following:

I. The

I. The ſingular and peculiar climate of *North America* hardly agrees with any one thing that is commonly propoſed to be planted in it, and the ſoil is as unſuitable to many others. Every one ſeems to imagine, that in the ſeveral climates we poſſeſs from north to ſouth, all the productions of *Europe* may be raiſed in our colonies; but if the truth were known, there is hardly any one climate ſuitable to them in all *North America*. The productions of *Europe* are there either deſtroyed by the long and intenſe colds in the north, or burnt up by the ſun in the ſouth, eſpecially on their ſcorching ſands. Hence there is hardly any of them that will thrive in our colonies, as the ſtaple of a country ought to do. Of this we have above given an inſtance in Wheat, Hemp and Flax, and it is more viſible in many other things. The cauſes of this would abundantly appear from a due account of the climate of *North America*, which we cannot pretend to give in the bounds of this diſcourſe. It is commonly imagined, from mere gueſs, that the climate of *North America* differs from that of *Europe* by ten degrees of latitude; but from certain obſervations in both for thirty years together, we are well aſſured, that there is a difference of at leaſt fourteen or fifteen degrees of latitude between the reſpective climates in theſe two continents; it being ſo much colder there, than here *.

Now

* Theſe ſevere colds are commonly attributed to the woods with which that Continent is covered, and it is

Now this is as great a difference of latitude as moſt productions of the earth will thrive in; con-

imagined, that the clearing of theſe will abate the rigor of the climate; which is as contrary to all reaſon and experience, as all the other common opinions relating to that Continent, and the colonies in it. Now, as theſe vulgar errors proceed from an ignorance of the climate, it may be proper to give ſome account of it here, as far as our room will permit. This coldneſs of the climate, which is felt all over *North America*, appears to proceed, chiefly and principally, from the three following cauſes, beſides others which conſpire with them, particularly the nature of the ſoil.

I. That Continent in all probability extends to the North Pole, as no end could ever be found to the land, although it has been ſearched as far North as the latitude 80 and 82 degrees. In theſe Northern parts, *America* is as extenſive from Eaſt to Weſt; both *Greenland* and *Spitzbergen* appear to be parts of that Continent, or at leaſt nighly join to it in thoſe frozen regions. Thus *North America* extends over the greateſt part of the frigid zone, and is by that means conſtantly overwhelmed with froſt and ſnow; whereas *Europe* and *Aſia* terminate in or about the 70th degree of latitude.

Thus *America* extends farther North than any other part of the world, and by that means is ſo much colder—*Europe* is ſurrounded by the warmer ocean, which is always open; *Aſia*, by an icy ſea (the *mare glaciale*); and *America*, by a frozen Continent; which occaſions the diverſity of climates in theſe three Continents.

II. That Continent, which is thus extenſive in the Northern parts, is one entire groupe of high mountains, covered with ſnow, or rather with ice, throughout the whole year. Theſe mountains riſe in the moſt Northern parts of the Continent that have been diſcovered in *Baffin's* Bay, and ſpread all over it to *New-England*. Hence "the "coaſt of *Labrador* is the higheſt of any in the world, and "may be deſcried at the diſtance of 40 leagues;" and in the Weſtern parts diſcovered by the *Ruſſians*, they tell us, "the country had terrible high mountains covered with "ſnow

consequently, we can expect nothing to grow there as it does here. It is for this reason, that the

"snow in the month of *July*." This was in latitude 58 degrees, and the country to the Southward of that in 40 degrees, is by the *Spaniards* called *sierras nevados*, *snowy mountains*. "So a ridge of mountains rise at Cape *Tourmente* by *Quebec*, and run four or five hundred leagues, forming the greatest ridge of mountains in the universe," which spread over all the Northern parts of that Continent. These are what we call the *Northern snowy mountains*, which extend to the 43d degree of latitude, and render the whole Continent unfit for Agriculture to the Northward of that. The river St. *Laurence* is only a large arm of the sea which runs up between these mountains, as *Hudson*'s and *Baffin*'s Bay do in the North, in order to carry off the snow waters.

III. All the countries which lie within the verge of these mountains, or North of *New England*, are perpetually involved in frosts, snows, or thick fogs; and the colds which are felt in the South, proceed from these frozen regions in the North by violent North-west winds. These are the peculiar winds of that Continent, and blow with a fury which no wind exceeds. It appears from many observations, that they blow quite across the *Atlantic* Ocean to *Europe*. The great lakes of *Canada*, which are an inland sea extending North-west for 12 or 13 hundred miles, give force and direction to these winds, which blow from the Northern frozen regions, and bring the climate of *Hudson*'s Bay to the most Southern parts of that Continent, whenever they blow for any time. Northerly winds are cold in all countries, and as these blow with such violence, and from such frozen regions, they are so much colder than others. Every one may observe, that the extreme colds in *North America* proceed from these winds, as I found by keeping a journal of the weather there for fifteen years; whence a *North-wester* and cold weather are in a manner synonimous terms in all our colonies.

Many imagine that these colds proceed from the snows lying in the woods, but that is the effect, and not the cause,

the nation is disappointed, and every one is so much deceived about *North America*. Even the

of the cold. The question is, What occasions such deep snows in these Southern latitudes? They, who attribute this to the woods, do not distinguish between wet and cold, or the damps of wood lands and frosts, which are very different things; so different, that they destroy one another, like a shower of rain in a frost. These colds are so far from being occasioned by the woods, that one half of that Continent, which is the coldest, and from which they proceed, has not a wood in it; and is so barren, that it does not bear a tree or a bush. It is from this want of woods in the Northern parts, and the great lakes, that these furious winds proceed; which are very much abated by the woods. In the woods these cold winds may be endured, but in the open fields they are insufferable, either to man or beast, and that even in our Southern colonies. We talk from experience.—Hence, if all the woods in that Continent were cleared, *Canada* and *Nova Scotia* would be as uninhabitable as *Hudson's* Bay; our Northern colonies as cold as *Canada*; and the adjacent Southern colonies in the situation of the Northern; which would make a very great alteration in the affairs of this nation—Let us not deceive ourselves, therefore, among other things, with the vain hopes of *mending nature*; and abating the rigor of these inhospitable climes; that is not to be done, but by cutting off, at least, 20 degrees of that Continent in the North, and levelling the innumerable snowy mountains; from which two causes these severe colds proceed.

No part of the world can be compared to this in point of climate, but the Eastern parts of *Asia*, which are almost contiguous to *America* in the North, and are exposed to the like cold winds from this Continent. Hence it appears, from comparing many observations in both, that our colonies enjoy the same climate with *East Tartary*, *China*, *Corea*, and *Japan*; the products of which are so rich and valuable. Here then we might have many of the most valuable commodities for the colonies; and as these are so totally

the knowledge which many have of it, only ſerves to miſlead them. For this reaſon many of our colonies muſt either have more favourable climates, or make nothing that the nation wants.

In ſuch ſingular climates few or no products of the earth will thrive, as the ſtaple of a country ſhould do, but the natural productions of the ſoil and climate; and we muſt plant and improve theſe, if we would have proper ſtaple commodities for our colonies, of which many might be found. Of this we have a remarkable inſtance, in the very firſt commodities the nation wants from *North America*, which are Hemp and Flax; the *European* Hemp or Flax neither agrees with the ſoil nor climate, but you may there have at leaſt five or ſix ſorts of theſe commodities which are natural to both. You may find much better and ſtronger Hemp there on the mereſt barren ſands, than the richeſt lands in *Europe* will produce; and we have found it to thrive as well by culture in various ſoils. It is from ſuch a production of their colonies, which is as common in them, as Hemp or Flax are in *Europe*, and as generally manufactured, that the *Spaniards* make many manufactures preferable to any of the kind that we

totally different from any thing that *Britain* produces, they might for ever keep the colonies from interfering with their Mother Country, and preſerve a laſting connection and correſpondence between them.—It may be obſerved, that moſt of the ſtaple commodities of *America* came from the Eaſt, as Sugar, Rice, Cotton, Coffee, Indigo, &c. But theſe things would require a more particular conſideration.

have

have ſeen; from the ſamples we have of it, it appears to good judges to be one of the beſt materials for a manufacture that are to be found; they have three or four different ſorts of it, and we might have five or ſix more ſorts from our colonies, as well as many other valuable commodities. But they have been at the pains to explore the productions of their plantations, and by that means get ſo many valuable returns from them; which we have entirely neglected, and thereby get ſo little from ours. We do not uſe any productions of the country, and others will not thrive in it. The only rule we ſeem to have for improving our colonies, is, to make ſuch commodities in them, as the merchants and tradeſmen want, whether they will produce them, or not. Wherefore,

——— *varium cæli prædiſcere morem*
Cura ſit, ac patrios cultuſque habituſque locorum,
Et quid quæque ferat regio, et quid quæque recuſet.

II. The ſtaple commodities commonly propoſed for the colonies will not maintain them, and for that reaſon they are obliged to manufacture them. Few or no people ſeem to know or conſider, what it is to maintain whole countries merely by their agriculture; and to ſupply them with all their neceſſaries without making any, merely by the produce of lands; eſpecially ſuch poor lands as our colonies poſſeſs. If they can make a commodity or two, ſuch as Hemp, Flax, or Cotton, many think it is ſufficient;

ficient; but that is the direct way to promote the manufactures of the colonies inſtead of ſupplying the nation at home. All that *Britain* wants of theſe commodities would not be worth a ſhilling a head *per annum* to all the people in *North America*; and before they can be ſuppoſed to make even that quantity, the people will be twice as numerous as they are, and will not have even that income from ſuch commodities as theſe. To maintain ſuch a number of people and whole countries by ſuch employments, they ſhould have a variety and number of them, and ſuch as are more profitable. If they have not, they can never live by them, and are obliged to convert the produce of their lands to their own uſe. Thus by doing things only by halves, we obſtruct the deſign altogether. We ſhould either promote theſe deſigns to ſome purpoſe, or let them alone. Every thing that has been done in them, to promote the intereſt of *Britain*, has only ſerved to eſtabliſh the manufactures of the colonies, from the making of Iron to Hemp and Flax. Unleſs they have ſome other more valuable commodities, they can never ſend theſe to *Britain*. They muſt firſt ſupply themſelves with theſe, as they do in all other countries; after which the produce of ſuch poor countries will hardly yield any overplus. The colonies muſt ever uſe ſuch neceſſary articles as Iron, Hemp, Flax, Wool and Cotton, till they have ſome other commodities to purchaſe the manufactures of

of theſe, which no people can live without. The proper commodities for them are ſuch as *Silk*, *Wine* and *Oil*, which they do not require for their manufactures, which are more valuable in themſelves, and may be made on their poor and mean lands. Theſe commodities coſt the nation two millions a year, and they might vend of theſe to the value of three millions; which would be a ſtaple fit to maintain ſo many colonies, and ſuch a number of people. Theſe are likewiſe as proper for their ſingular ſoil and climate, and are the great ſtaple commodities wanted in *Britain*. But by growing Corn on their poor and mean lands, they ſtarve themſelves, interfere with their mother country, and do not obſerve the firſt principles of agriculture. Some countries produce Corn, and in others grapes grow to more advantage.

Hic ſegetes, illic veniunt felicius uvæ.

III. For want of a variety of ſtaple commodities they are not able to make any. By being all employed in planting one or two commodities, as Tobacco and Rice, the people ſtarve one another, when they become numerous, and are obliged to leave off planting altogether. Theſe two indeed afford employment for labourers throughout the whole year, for which reaſon they are ſo generally planted, but other commodities are very different in this reſpect. The making either of Silk, Wine or Oil alone, does not

not employ the labourers above two or three months in the year, and for that reaſon will not maintain them; and as they have no other employments, they cannot follow any one of theſe. This is the great obſtacle to all theſe improvements in the colonies. If they make any one, they cannot live by it, as they have no other employments of that ſort for the reſt of the year. They cannot live by the making of any one commodity, as they are idle for half their time, which they are obliged to ſpend on manufactures for want of other employments. But if they had a variety of commodities to ſend to *Britain*, which might be made in various ſeaſons throughout the whole year; they would find the labourers conſtant employment, and hinder them from thus entering into manufactures; and they might get a living from them all together, which neither of them alone will afford. Thus they complain, for example, they cannot live by making ſilk, as they make but one or two in a ſeaſon; but as this requires ſix weeks in the ſpring of the year, and a crop to ſucceed this in ſummer, and a crop after both in autumn, as they have in all countries where theſe commodities are made, they might from them all get a better living than by manufactures, which they cannot by any one of them alone. It is only by theſe means, that you can ever maintain whole countries merely by their Agriculture, without manufactures; for which purpoſe

many commodities ſhould be made together, otherwiſe none of them will ſucceed.

IV. But here lies the difficulty; they, who are unacquainted with any one of theſe employments, cannot be ſuppoſed to carry them all on to the beſt advantage, without which they can follow none of them. This difficulty again is increaſed by the peculiar circumſtances of colonies, in which every one is employed on their own ſeparate plantations, and on their own account; they work for themſelves, and cannot be hired by others, who might put theſe employments in their hands, or carry them on for their own advantage. If any may be acquainted with ſuch employments, it is only to talk about them, ſo long as they can hire none to follow them. If others may have labourers of their own, they are only negroes, who are very unfit to ſet about new improvements. If they hire foreign workmen, they are either unacquainted with the ſingular and peculiar climate of *North America*, in which they are apt to miſcarry even in their own buſineſs; or if they make any improvements, it is only for a private perſon or two, which die with them, and turn to no account to the public. For theſe reaſons, our Planters follow only a few employments, ſuch as they have learned from their forefathers in *Britain*; and none can put any others in their hands, unleſs it is done by the public. The firſt thing that every Planter has to do, is to get the neceſſaries of life; this they are all engaged in

in for their own immediate ſubſiſtence; and if the nation at home would have them follow any other employments, ſhe ſhould take care to ſet the people about them, otherwiſe it will never be done. But in all our regulations concerning the colonies, this, which is the only one wanted, ſeems not to be thought of; although it is the more neceſſary, as our Planters, like other Farmers, are never to be put out of the way they are once in.

It is for theſe reaſons, that our colonies produce ſo little, and that they muſt now interfere with their Mother Country, both in Agriculture and Manufactures, unleſs theſe and the like improvements are made in them, in order to increaſe their remittances to *Britain*. But if theſe difficulties, in ſuch a deſign, are duly conſidered, they will not be ſo eaſily ſurmounted, as many ſeem to imagine. Were we to conſider the execution of theſe deſigns, many other difficulties would occur, eſpecially in the ſoil and climate which the colonies now poſſeſs. The very improvements that are proper for them are hardly known, and much leſs the ways of making them. In the mean time, till theſe things are better underſtood, the preſent improvements of the colonies may be reduced to the following heads:

I. To extend their ſettlements to new and more fertile lands, and favourable climates, ſuch as we have pointed out, which appears to be abſolutely neceſſary for the greateſt part of

them to make any improvements whatever. Theſe will produce Tobacco, Indigo, Hemp, and Flax, the planting of which they are acquainted with, and have no ſuch difficulties to encounter in making new and unknown improvements, which are more uncertain and precarious. It is not yet certain, whether they can make any others, and for that reaſon, theſe are more neceſſary. It is to be feared, that all other improvements have been ſo long neglected, that they can now only ſubſiſt by manufactures, unleſs they enlarge their plantations, and thereby give room to others to improve the old. When the people become numerous in a country, it is very difficult to ſubſiſt merely by their Agriculture, as colonies ſhould do.

II. But the great thing wanted is, to improve our old plantations in ſtaple commodities for *Britain*; which is attended with much greater difficulties, than moſt people ſeem to imagine. The firſt thing to be done, for that purpoſe, is to make ſilk and wine, which are the neceſſary foundation of all other improvements. Theſe commodities are not only valuable in themſelves, but they are as neceſſary to find conſtant employment for labourers throughout the year, and thereby to enable them to ſend their other products to *Britain*, which may be made with theſe; neither of which are likely to turn to any account without the other. Hence we ſhould have begun with the encouragement of ſilk and wine, before hemp or flax,

flax, or any other materials of manufactures *. But beſides all the other difficulties above-mentioned,

* It was to ſupply the nation with ſilk and wine, that our colonies were firſt ſettled, and no part of the world is perhaps more fit for that purpoſe, after the woods are cleared. Although the ſoil and climate are very ſingular, with regard to other productions, yet mulberry trees and vines are, as it were, natural to them. That whole Continent is covered over with both, as far North as *Montreal*, and *Annapolis*, in *Nova Scotia*. We have ſeen fifteen different ſorts of native grapes there, the like of which, growing wild, are certainly not to be found in any part of the world. The ordinary ſorts of theſe in *Virginia* yield a wine ſo like the common *Bourdeaux* wine, that it is difficult to diſtinguiſh the one from the other; and from another ſort ſome wine has been made, which was compared by good judges, both here and there, to the beſt that is drank. Other ſorts yield wine exactly like the *Lisbon*. But inſtead of theſe, they have tranſplanted grapes from the hills of *Normandy* to the maritime parts of *Virginia* and *Carolina*, where no one could expect them to thrive, nigh ſo well as they do. They ripen there in the beginning and middle of *Auguſt*, when no one can expect to make good wine; although they yield a very good wine for preſent drinking. But this is the moſt improper for their climate of any grape that grows; neither is it the true *Burgundy* grape, for which they got it.

There are likewiſe three different ſorts of mulberry trees in *North America*, and a native ſilk-worm which ſpins its cocons upon theſe and other trees; which are as large, and weigh as much, as twenty of the common; and the ſilk is much ſtronger. This would afford a material for a manufacture, different from any that is known.—It has been imagined, indeed, that the making of ſilk would turn to no account in the colonies; but it would certainly be much more profitable than tobacco, their moſt general ſtaple. There are nigh 800,000 people in the tobacco colonies, who might make at leaſt a pound of ſilk a head *per annum*, which

tioned, mulberry orchards and vineyards require time to be brought to perfection, which the indigent circumſtances of Planters will hardly admit of. They generally live from year to year, and cannot ſo well afford, or at leaſt do not attend to, the making of improvements which require eight or ten years, to turn to account. It is this that obſtructs the making of ſilk and wine in the colonies, more than any other difficulty, and requires great induſtry and application to be ſurmounted. If this were once done, many other commodities might be made with theſe, and the colonies might be conſtantly employed in making them all for *Britain*; whereas at preſent, all the commodities propoſed for them only ſerve to eſtabliſh their manufactures, which will prove as great a loſs

which would be worth 800,000 *l.*, whereas they do not make above 300,000 *l.* by tobacco; and the one is made in ſix weeks, the other requires a twelvemonth; this is only to be made by ſlaves, when that is an employment which might be followed by women and children, and is ſuitable to the condition of mankind in theſe intemperate climates, as well as the making of wine. Such employments are more neceſſary, as the women, and other weakly people, who are not fit for labour in the fields, have no way to get their bread but by theſe, or manufactures; and as they make three-fourths of the people, they muſt neceſſarily manufacture every thing they can raiſe, particularly Flax, Cotton, and Wool. The great obſtacle to the making of ſilk has hitherto been the want of hands, of which there are now a ſufficient number in all our old plantations; but as ſilk alone will not maintain them, they muſt be otherwiſe employed, till they have other crops which will not interfere with this.

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to them, as to the whole nation. Both the one and the other will thereby loſe the produce of their lands, while they can get nothing by their manufactures, but bare neceſſaries. Nothing will ever turn to any account in the colonies, but their Agriculture; and if their lands yield nothing, you can expect as little from them in *Britain*. The intereſt of both depends on this ſingle point, or the improvement of their Agriculture.

III. Since their lands produce ſo little, every one is bent upon trade, and the colonies endeavour to better their circumſtances by that, which they cannot do by any other means; but their trade ſeems to be as little underſtood, as every thing elſe relating to them. It is imagined, that they do or may make money by their trade to the *Weſt-Indies*, but it rather appears, that they loſe very conſiderably by it. That trade indeed is carried on at ſo many different ports, in ſmall veſſels and cargoes, and in commodities which are, or have been, moſtly ſmuggled, that it is very difficult to get any exact account of it, for which reaſon it ſeems to have been ſo little underſtood. In all the accounts we have had of their trade, we neither ſee a ſtate of their exports, nor imports; what the balance is, or how it is paid; without which it is impoſſible to form any right judgement concerning trade. By the beſt accounts of theſe that can well be got, either there or here, their imports appear to amount

at leaſt to 800,000 *l.* a year, when their exports do not exceed 300,000 *l.*; the balance therefore againſt them muſt be 500,000 *l. per annum* *. This balance ariſes from the very nature

* The quantity of ſugar conſumed in *North America* may be computed from the conſumption of *Britain*, which is by the laſt accounts of the Cuſtom-houſe 94,000 hogſheads a year, for ſeven and an half millions of people; and as in the colonies moſt of their common liquors are ſome beverage ſweetened with ſugar, they muſt conſume rather more in proportion; at which rate three millions of people will require 37,000 hogſheads. The common computation is 30,000 hogſheads, valued at 300,000 *l.*

The quantity of molaſſes is computed to be 90,000 hogſheads, which at 3 *l. per* head come to 270,000 *l.* But in the account from which this computation is made, now before me, there is no allowance for the Southern colonies, who make all their ſmall beer of molaſſes, and cannot conſume leſs than 30,000 hogſheads a year, as that would not make above a quart of beer a day for half the people.

The quantity of rum made in our iſlands, is, by their computation, from 60 to 70,000 hogſheads a year, and as they import but 8 or 9,000 hogſheads into *Britain*, the greateſt part of the reſt muſt be conſumed in *North America*. It is computed, that they import 30,000 hogſheads; but allowing it to be 20,000, or to the value of 200,000 *l.*, the whole will amount to 770,000 *l. per annum*, for rum, ſugar, and molaſſes.

To this if we add their wine, and other *Weſt-India* goods, the imports into *North America* cannot be leſs than 800,000 *l. per annum.*

As for their exports, they are more uncertain; but it is computed by our iſlands, that they take from *North America* to the value of 80,000 *l. per annum*, and they cannot be ſuppoſed to export much more to foreign colonies than to our own; but allowing this laſt to be 220,000 *l.*, the whole amounts

nature of the trade; a cargo of *Weſt-India* goods is ſo much more valuable than one of *North*

amounts but to 300,000 *l.* a year. If any may ſuppoſe, they export more, they may import as much more, ſo that the balance againſt them will be 500,000 *l. per annum.* At any rate, the balance appears to be againſt the *North American* colonies; although it is impoſſible to aſcertain the exact ſum, and it may be more or leſs than we make it.

Hence it muſt appear to be impracticable, to raiſe a revenue by ſuch a loſing trade; which is, moreover, carried on in ſuch groſs and vile commodities, that they will hardly pay the freight. If this trade is thought to be pernicious, it ſhould be prohibited, and not tolerated for the ſake of a precarious revenue, which can neither be paid, nor collected.

This is an expence which the colonies cannot afford in their circumſtances. Moſt of theſe articles are indeed neceſſaries of life among them at preſent, eſpecially in *New England*, where they both carry on their fiſhery, the ſupport of the country, and purchaſe the Corn they eat, with molaſſes, and the rum diſtilled from it: but as they might ſupply themſelves much better with their own products, it would be much more for their advantage; the colonies would thereby ſave half a million a year, which is a third part of their whole income, and would very much increaſe their remittances to *Britain*; and in their preſent ſituation, we can ſee no other way they have to pay their debts.

This is the more to be regarded, as the only profitable article in this trade is ſugar; but ſo long as they purchaſe ſuch quantities of rum and molaſſes, they have nothing to buy ſugar with; neither will the *French* or any others let them have ſugar or other valuable effects for their products, ſo long as they can be ſupplied with every thing they want for the very dregs of their plantations, which they could make no other uſe of.

This trade to the *Weſt-Indies* was only carried on, in the infancy of the colonies, to ſupply them with immediate neceſſaries, ſuch as beer and other liquors,

North American produce, that the laſt will never pay for the firſt; although they generally endeavour to load their veſſels home, in

which they could not make of their own; but it is now time that they ſhould ſupply themſelves with theſe, rather than with manufactures; and they muſt do the one or the other. By purchaſing theſe for their conſumption, they ſpend their ſubſtance on foreign drugs, with which they might ſupply themſelves, and thereby very much improve their own lands, inſtead of thoſe of their enemies and rivals —If a few Merchants, or private Traders, may gain by this trade, that is ſo much loſs to the public. All that they ſell or export of theſe imports from the *Weſt-Indies*, as a little rum to the coaſt of *Africa*, is but a mere trifle.

It is this profuſion of ſpirituous liquors, which they have from rum and molaſſes, that hinders them to make wine. A vineyard will not produce good wine under ten or twelve years, nor the beſt under twenty or thirty; but it will yield great quan ities fit for diſtilling in three or four years, which defrays the charge of vineyards. And even in *New-England*, we have known wine made, which was much better than *New-England rum*. It was reckoned here to be as good as *Liſbon*.

It is imagined, that they ſhould take their rum, ſugar, and molaſſes from our own ſugar colonies, and no doubt, they ſhould give them the preference to foreigners; but they have nothing to purchaſe all their ſupplies of this kind, for ſuch a number of people, either from the one or the other. Unleſs they make the greateſt part, they muſt get them from thoſe who will take their products for them. To ſay, that they ſhould take all their ſupplies from our colonies, is the ſame as to ſay, they ſhould purchaſe all their neceſſaries from *Britain*; and they ſhould do both the one and the other, if they could; but they have no way to do either, till they make every thing of this kind that they can; and that would reſtrain their trade with foreign colonies, whom they now ſupport, the great complaint of our iſlands, inſtead of being ſupported by them.

order

order to ſave freight. The queſtion, therefore, is, How is this balance paid? or what have they to pay it in, but the *Britiſh* goods, which they vend with their own products? They have no money but what they get from the *Weſt-Indies*; but it is impoſſible to make money by a trade, the balance of which is againſt them. But if they have no money to purchaſe *Britiſh* manufactures, nor credit for them, how can they carry on their trade but in their own? Theſe are things, which require a very ſerious conſideration, and a more particular account to diſcuſs them; but this is not our ſubject at preſent; no more than the proper regulations for this trade, which would be attended with as much difficulty to execute, as to contrive. None of them can well be put in execution, till the colonies ſupply themſelves with their own products, in place of thoſe which they now import, and cannot otherwiſe do without. The balance of this trade is occaſioned by the increaſe of people, and their great conſumption of *Weſt-India* goods, which is daily increaſing, unleſs they have other ſupplies. A few people might have made money by it, but it will never maintain a number. Their trade is limited and confined to foreign colonies, who cannot trade with them in articles of any value, nor conſume their products. They have neither people of ſubſtance to trade with, commodities of value to trade in, nor valuable returns for them, ſo that it is impoſſible they can ever

make much at any rate by ſuch a trade. It was upon this account, that free ports were ſo neceſſary; but it is to be feared, that even theſe will not make the trade turn to account. The number of people in all the *Weſt-India* iſlands, taken together, both *Engliſh* and foreign, is ſo much leſs than in *North America*, that the firſt can never conſume as much as the laſt, nor take off the products of a whole Continent; and as their goods are ſo much more valuable, this muſt ever make a balance againſt the *North American* colonies, till they ſupply themſelves with their own products; after which they ſhould prohibit theſe foreign commodities, which interfere with their own. A country or nation may be ruined by trade, and they can never trade in any thing leſs profitable, or more pernicious, than ſpirituous liquors. If they would make money by this trade, the commodities they import ſhould be articles of commerce, and not of conſumption; but as theſe are now conſumed among themſelves, they loſe ſo much by them. Hence their trade is rather a ſource of new debts, than a means of diſcharging the old, or of making money—It is therefore impracticable to raiſe a revenue upon ſuch a loſing trade, without a certain loſs to the whole nation. It is this balance againſt the colonies, which muſt be paid in *Britiſh* goods, that makes them ſo much in debt to *Britain*; and to lay a duty upon ſuch a trade, is only to increaſe that debt, and to render them more unable to pay it.

Theſe

These are the three sources of all the remittances the colonies can make to *Britain*, and of the improvements which may be made in them; the first we have here considered, as it is the foundation of all the rest; and the other two would each require as particular a discussion, to point out every thing that might be proper to be done in them; which our time at present, or the bounds of this discourse, will not admit of; these must be deferred to another opportunity, when we may give a more particular account of that continent, of the soil and climate, its products, and the improvements which may be made in it. Were these duely complied with, all the colonies from *New-England* to *South Carolina* might have a proper staple for *Britain*, which is the only medium of their connection and correspondence with her, whereas all others are rather means of a separation. It is only by improving these sources of their remittances, that the colonies can ever purchase their necessaries from *Britain*, or have money for any other purposes, as will abundantly appear from their condition and circumstances; of which we shall next give a brief view, with the regulations lately made concerning them.

These indeed are matters, which have been debated with such heat and strife, as if it were between declared enemies, that few would care to be concerned with them, were it not from a greater regard to the welfare of their country, than

than their own intereſt or quiet. There are ſo many prejudices and preconceived opinions concerning every thing that relates to the colonies, that no one can declare his opinion about them, without being expoſed to their cenſure and ill-will. They ſeem not to ſearch for the truth, but for arguments to ſupport their own parties, and preconceived opinions, let them be right or wrong. It is therefore impoſſible to ſatisfy many, even by the moſt convincing proofs. But as the affairs of this nation in *North America* are in ſuch a ſituation, that they are likely to be ruined, after all the immenſe ſums which have been expended upon them, it is to be hoped, every one will lay aſide their prejudices, and ſhew themſelves open to conviction, in matters which are of ſuch conſequence and importance to the whole nation. For this purpoſe they have only to conſider the preſent ſtate and circumſtances of the colonies, to be convinced of many miſtakes which have been committed concerning them. This is the more neceſſary, as the regulations lately made concerning the colonies are ſo far from improving the advantages of the peace, for which they were intended, that they can only burden the nation with an additional expence by that, and deprive her of what ſhe enjoyed before the war; eſpecially if we ſhould loſe the benefit of our colonies by them, as we are very likely to do, unleſs theſe regulations are well amended; for which purpoſe we have drawn up the following brief account of them.

PART III.

The STATE and REGULATIONS of the COLONIES.

TO form a right judgment concerning the ſtate of the colonies, we ſhould in the firſt place conſider the produce of their Agriculture in enumerated commodities; which, with all their other products, ſent to *Britain*, are well known, both from the accounts of the Cuſtom-houſe, Merchants, and Planters; all which have been carefully examined for many years paſt, and from theſe it appears, that the value of all their enumerated commodities is but 767,000 *l. per annum*; even the higheſt computation does not bring it to 800,000 *l.*, meaning in net proceeds to the planters. Their value has indeed always been computed at 600,000 *l.*, till within theſe few years paſt. But every one, who is acquainted with the colonies, may ſee, that their enumerated commodities, are the chief part of their produce; every thing they make indeed is for remittances to *Britain*, in order to purchaſe their neceſſaries, and to pay their debts; whence we may be very certain, that their non-enumerated commodities, ſold in other countries, are not equal in value to the enumerated which are ſent to *Britain*. Accordingly, the firſt are

computed at 700,000*l.* a year at moſt; and if we were to enter into the particulars, no one could well make them amount to that ſum. Thus the produce of all the colonies in *North America* amounts at moſt to 1,500,000*l. per annum*, above what they conſume among themſelves; and we ſhall ſee below, that it cannot well exceed 1,400,000*l.* All that they import into *Britain*, both in enumerated commodities, and what they purchaſe with others, amounts at moſt, by the rates at the Cuſtom-houſe, but to 1,066,491*l. per annum.*

By the Cuſtom-houſe accompts, from the year 1756 to 1761 incluſive, the ſtate of the trade between *Great Britain* and *North America*, during theſe ſix years of war, was as follows:

Annual Exports from *Britain* to *North America* on an average	£.	2,045,144
Imports into *Britain*	—	752,338
Balance due to *Britain*	—	1,292,806

By the ſame accompts from 1762 to 1764, both included, ſince the peace, that trade is thus ſtated:

Exports from *Britain* on an average	£.	2,022,445
Imports into *Britain*	—	1,066,491
Balance due to *Britain*	—	955,954

In theſe nine years, ſince the commencement of the war, from 1756 to 1764 incluſive, the

the following is the ſtate of the whole on an average:

Exports from *Britain* —	£.	2,037,577
Imports into *Britain* —		857,056
Balance due to *Britain* —		1,180,521
Total Exports in theſe nine years	£.	18,338,199
Total Imports —		7,713,506
Total Balance due to *Britain* in 9 years		10,624,693

Now, as the colonies exported to the value of 18 millions, and owe five or ſix millions to *Britain*, they cannot have paid more than 13 millions in theſe nine years, which is 1,444,000 *l. per annum*; and as people who are ſo much in debt, are obliged to pay their all, this muſt be their annual income, and agrees with the above account of their produce.

Now as their enumerated commodities amount to —	£.	767,000
The value of their non-enumerated commodities muſt be —		677,000
Total		1,444,000

But as the entries at the cuſtom-houſe are well known to exceed the real value of the exports, this income of the colonies cannot be ſo much as theſe accounts make it, and cannot exceed 1,400,000 *l. per annum*. It is indeed impoſſible to bring ſuch accounts to a certain preciſion; but from this ſtate of them we may be well

well assured, that the annual income of all the *North American* colonies cannot exceed a million and a half a year, and it is probably not so much.

From these accounts it appears, that the annual balance of trade against *North America* in favor of *Britain* has been for the last nine years 1,180,000 *l.*; but as that balance was greater in the time of the war, it may be reckoned now in time of peace about a million a year, so long as they export to the value of two millions from *Britain.* In the last nine years this balance has amounted to ten millions, which is certainly more than they could pay, if we consider their income. This confirms the accounts of the merchants, who make the colonies so much indebted to them. By these accounts this balance has accumulated to a debt of five millions; and as many accounts have not been received, it is computed, that the whole debt due to *Britain* in *North America* amounts at least to five millions and a half, if not six millions.

Besides this, they owe a public debt of 767,000 *l.* Thus their public and private debts amount to more than six millions of money; the interest of which alone, at five *per cent.*, comes to 350,000 *l*; but as many of them pay eight *per cent.*, according to the custom of the trade, the interest of their debts may be reckoned half a million a year; especially if we add the loss they sustain in the exchange by making remittances

remittances of money, which has of late been 30 and 40 *per cent.*, and the 10 *per cent.* they pay on proteſted bills, with 6 *per cent. per annum* till they are diſcharged. If we add this, to the balance of trade they owe to *Britain*, the two amount to their whole income.

If we deduct this intereſt of their debts, loſs of exchange, and proteſted bills, from their income above-mentioned, their net income is but 900,000 *l.* a year; which is the whole of what all the colonies in *North America* have to purchaſe their neceſſaries from *Britain*. This ſum divided among three millions of people is but ſix ſhillings a head *per annum*.—Even if we allow their income to be a million and a half a year, it is but ten ſhillings a head.

Thus the colonies have to diſcharge a debt of ſix or ſeven millions; to pay an annual balance of nigh one million; and to maintain three millions of people, out of an income of a million and a half a year at moſt, which is certainly impracticable.—If their whole income were to be appropriated to the payment of their debts alone, and they were to take nothing either from *Britain*, or the *Weſt Indies*, it would not diſcharge their debts, with intereſt, in five years.—It is commonly computed, that all their perſonal eſtates are not worth above ſix millions; that they would hardly pay their debts to *Britain*; and that their current caſh would not pay the intereſt of their debts alone for half a year.—How then does it appear, "they can

'' certainly bear more, they ought to pay '' more?" as we are told by the author of the ate Regulations concerning the colonies.

If we allow theſe colonies to have ten ſhillings a head *per annum* to expend in *Britain*, it would not purchaſe a ſixth part of their neceſſaries; and as their net income is but ſix ſhillings a head, it will not purchaſe a tenth part of them. To ſupply them with neceſſaries from *Britain*, not to mention many other articles, would require at leaſt three pounds a head, as appears from many particular eſtimates. At this rate of 3 *l.* a head, three millions of people would ſpend nine millions a year; but as their income is only a million and a half, the difference of ſeven millions and a half muſt be looked upon as a national loſs; which we not only increaſe, but render irreparable, by taxes, duties, confinement of their ſettlements, &c. all which oblige them to ſupply themſelves. By theſe proceedings we deprive the nation of ſuch advantages, which might be reaped from the colonies, for the ſake, or rather the impracticable attempt, of raiſing 100,000 *l.*, to maintain *Canada* and *Florida*.

This bad ſtate of the colonies is owing to three cauſes; the firſt and chief is the wearing out of their lands, and great increaſe of the people, who conſume twice or thrice as much as they uſed to do, while their lands do not produce half as much, although that is the ſource of their whole ſupport. They now likewiſe require,

require, for their own conſumption, moſt of the articles imported by their trade, which they uſed formerly to ſell, and to make money by them, particularly Sugar. Now as theſe cauſes are daily growing more prevalent, we may ſee the neceſſity of extending their ſettlements, and improving their old plantations; without which this ſtate of the colonies is never likely to be remedied, but muſt daily grow worſe.

Their expences in the war have likewiſe involved them in great part of this debt. It appears from the certificate of the commander in chief, that he had 20,000 provincial troops under his command, beſides what they had in other ſervices; to pay theſe troops, they raiſed about ſix millions, and owe that ſum to *Britain*. Hence they ſeem to have run in debt to *Britain* for all their expences in the war, and if they were to raiſe any more money, it could only be by the ſame means, or by diminiſhing their exports from *Britain*.

In theſe circumſtances it is impoſſible, that they ſhould have any money. The balance of trade they owe to *Britain*, would in one year drain them of all the money they have, were it five times more than it is.—They have no way to get money but by a trade to the *Weſt Indies*, the balance of which is againſt them, ſo that it is impoſſible to make money by it. By that trade they rather loſe than gain.—Hence in all theſe colonies you hardly meet with any thing but paper for money. This paper occaſions a trade and circulation, it is true, but as the balance of that trade

is

is ſo much againſt them, it drains them of their current caſh, and leaves nothing but paper behind. Thus their trade and paper currency drain them of that money, which their agriculture brings in. And when their caſh is gone, ſo that they have none to exchange their paper, it is no longer of any value, if it be not for an internal commerce among themſelves; this ruins their credit in *Britain*, and puts them upon manufactures. It is therefore more prejudicial to the nation at home, than to the colonies, to drain them entirely of money, and to leave them no medium of trade with *Britain*. That only obliges them to make their own neceſſaries, inſtead of purchaſing them here; and let any one judge, which is the greateſt gainer by that alternative.

They who imagine, that the colonies can have money, ſeem not to know what they are, or ſhould be. It is expected, they ſhould purchaſe all their manufactures from *Britain*, which alone is impoſſible. If they were to purchaſe one half of them, they could never have any money. The raw and unwrought materials, by which they ſhould purchaſe their manufactures, if they could make them, are of ſo much leſs value, that the one will never pay for the other. There are no people in the world who purchaſe all their manufactures; or if they were to do it, they could never have money. The mere and unmanufactured produce of lands will never purchaſe manufactures. Suppoſe we were

were to make no manufactures in *Britain*, how ſhould we be ſupplied with them? It is by manufactures, that this nation gains its wealth; and if you would have the colonies to get money, or pay taxes, they muſt do the ſame, and not only ſupply themſelves, but vend their manufactures, in order to raiſe that money; which theſe proceedings will ſoon drive them to. Thus the very thought of raiſing money in the colonies, is contrary to the firſt principles of colonization, and to the intereſt of *Britain* in them. It muſt infallibly make them her rivals both in trade and manufactures.

But if this is the caſe of the moſt fruitful countries, what can we ever expect from *North America!* or from the produce of the poor and mean lands there, the greateſt part of which will hardly yield the bare neceſſaries of life! What could any one ever expect from a little Tobacco, Rice, Pitch and Tar, or Fiſh, the chief products of *North America*, or any thing elſe it produces, to maintain two or three millions of people, and to raiſe money! They who could expect this, muſt be totally unacquainted with the value of theſe commodities. If the colonies could purchaſe half their neceſſaries from *Britain*, it would be a very conſiderable income, and worth four or five millions a year to *Britain*; but on the lands they now poſſeſs, if they are confined to them, they will never be able to purchaſe a fourth, if a tenth part of the neceſ-

neceſſaries they want. There are but two ways for any people to ſubſiſt, to wit, by the produce of lands, or of labour; that is, by agriculture, or manufactures; and if they can make nothing by the firſt, they muſt neceſſarily apply to the other, which is the preſent ſtate of the colonies. They now conſume the chief part of what their lands produce, and have no way to get manufactures but by making them. —To theſe two reſources many will add trade; but that can only be carried on in the produce of lands, or manufactures; without which you loſe by trade, as the colonies do; which will ſoon oblige them to trade in their own manufactures, if they depend on that, inſtead of agriculture.

The plenty which many perceive in the colonies proceeds from their land, and not from wealth; they are only rich in flocks and herds, like the Patriarchs of old, and not in money. If any may ſhew a greater ſign of opulence, it all proceeds from the labour of ſlaves; who are ſo chargeable, that they rather give their owners credit than wealth, till they are no longer able to pay their debts, which is their preſent condition. Hence they who go to the colonies, and ſee ſigns of opulence in them, as they imagine, only deceive themſelves, and impoſe upon the whole nation, when they pretend to be mighty well acquainted with them.

Upon

Upon all theſe accounts, it muſt appear to be abſolutely impracticable ever to raiſe a revenue in the colonies, in *ſterling caſh*, in which they were to have paid their taxes. They pay their own taxes either in ſtaple commodities, or their paper currency; and no one can expect to get money, where there is none. If they may have a little current caſh, it is not properly theirs, but belongs to the Merchants of *Britain*, to whom it is due. This is a ſtock of the nation in trade, left there by the Merchants, in order to improve it; and to apply that to any other purpoſe, is like a Merchant who lives upon his capital, inſtead of improving it by trade; which ſoon brings them both to an end. But if *Britain* thus ruins her trade, in order to maintain *ſtanding armies* in time of peace, this muſt become a very different nation from what it ever has been, or ceaſe to be one.

The advantages of the *North American* trade ſeem not to be conſidered in a public light; their commodities are of ſo ſmall value, that they are very unprofitable either to make, or to trade in them, but they are on that account more profitable to the public; if they are vile and cheap, it is becauſe they are groſs and bulky, by which they are ſources of navigation, and ſupport the maritime power of the nation. If you calculate the freight, commiſſion, and charges, on the products of *North America*, they amount to half their value; which is all gain to *Britain*, but is ſo much deducted from

the income of the colonies. From a particular account of the whole trade of *North America*, too long to be here inſerted, it appears, that the groſs proceeds, including freight and all charges, amount in value, to *Britain*, to three millions a year, when the net proceeds to the Planters do not exceed a million and an half: And as theſe charges are all paid by the Planters, out of the firſt produce of their commodities, this nation certainly does not enjoy any trade ſo profitable as this—'If 'we examine into the circumſtances of the in-'habitants of our plantations, and our own,' ſays a very good judge *, 'it will appear, that 'not one fourth part of their product redounds 'to their own profit.'

Thus the colonies, which produce ſtaple commodities for *Britain*, are a much greater advantage to the nation than ſeems to be apprehended. They pay, one with another, one half of all that they make, for tranſporting and vending the reſt, which is all expended in *Britain*. By that means you get their all, and cannot poſſibly have any more. Neither can it be expected, that any people can ever be worth money in ſuch a ſituation. Were they to have the profits only of tranſporting and vending their own products, their income would be double of what it is; but as theſe are now all reaped by *Britain*, it is to rob the nation of its

* *Gee* on Trade, p. 149.

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beſt income, to deprive it of this. This is the advantage of the colonies, and the tax which they pay for their protection; which muſt appear to be a very conſiderable one, as it amounts to one half of all that they make; and is much more advantageous to the nation than a petty revenue, which they cannot poſſibly have money to pay, as that all centers in *Britain*.

Beſides this deduction on their products, and the heavy duties upon them, the colonies pay all the taxes of *Britain* on every thing they conſume; as it is well known, all taxes fall on the conſumers, whoever may firſt pay them. Now, as theſe taxes on *Britiſh* goods amount at leaſt to 50 or 60 *per cent.*, and the colonies pay ſuch a great part of what they purchaſe them with, is not this much more advantageous to the nation than a petty revenue? Were they to pay 100,000*l.* in taxes, they muſt ſupply themſelves with manufactures to that value; this would eſtabliſh manufactures among them; the public would loſe the taxes and duties on theſe goods; the Merchants their profits, and the nation the benefit of the trade and navigation; which loſſes would amount to twice or thrice as much as the tax. And this loſs would fall much heavier on the landed intereſt than the mercantile; the profits of the Merchants in the trade to *North America* are but ſmall: they are reckoned not to exceed 10 *per cent.*, but allowing them to be 25 *per cent.*, the other 75 is expended on the manufactures of the

kingdom, and chiefly ſuch as are made of *Britiſh* materials, which are all gain to the land-owners. Let not the landed Gentlemen, therefore, expect to relieve the burdens on their eſtates, by taxes on the colonies; that is a certain way to entail their taxes on them and their poſterity for ever, and to render them unable to bear the burden. They muſt then pay their taxes themſelves, inſtead of having them paid by the colonies, who conſume the produce of their lands, and employ their tradeſmen who are maintained on the land.

But the greateſt loſs that the nation would ſuſtain by taxes on the colonies, ſeems not to be perceived, nor underſtood. If we would have them to depend on *Britain*, they muſt improve their lands in ſtaple commodities that are wanted in *Britain*, which cannot be done without money; improvements on land require time and expence to be brought to perfection, which their needy circumſtances will hardly admit of; they are and always have been ſo poor, that they cannot afford to make theſe improvements, but inſtead of them are obliged to ſupply themſelves with the neceſſaries of which they are in immediate want: wherefore, the taking of money from the colonies is to deprive the nation of all future hopes of receiving any benefit from them, and to oblige them to ſupply themſelves independent of *Britain*, whether they will or not. They likewiſe complain, that by ſending their products to *Britain*,

tain, their property is in the hands of others; and if the reſt of their property is liable to be taken from them, it will make them more averſe to have any dealings in *Britain*, or to improve their lands for her benefit; and will put them upon ſupplying themſelves, as the very attempt, with their neceſſitous circumſtances, have already done. 'We would therefore 'humbly recommend it to ſuch gentlemen as 'are guardians of the trade of the nation,' ſays Mr. *Gee* above, 'that our own intereſt is not 'miſtaken for that of the planters.' Inſtead of taking money from them, he, who was a very good judge, thinks it neceſſary to lend them money, to improve their plantations for the benefit of *Britain*: "The buſineſs is, ſays he, "to regulate all thoſe undertakings, and to "ſend proper perſons to direct them, and mo- "ney to ſupport them, which I think needs "not be a great deal; however, what is ex- "pended on this occaſion would be only a "little raiſed by the nation, which would, I "believe, in a ſhort time be abundantly re- "paid, and be the beſt harveſt that ever the "nation reaped; and I hope all thoſe good "things will be effected by our preſent moſt "gracious King and his Parliament *." Without ſuch improvements on their lands, which it was our chief deſign to point out, it will be impoſſible for them to purchaſe a tenth part of their manufactures from *Britain*.

* *Gee* on Trade, p. 211.

From

From all theſe conſiderations it muſt appear, that the raiſing of money in *North America* is abſolutely impracticable, as they neither have nor can have any; which has, moreover, been confirmed by ſuch undeniable evidence, that it can admit of no doubt. It muſt likewiſe appear, that the taking of money from the colonies there would be as prejudicial to the intereſt of *Britain*, as it is impracticable. Were they voluntarily to ſend money to *Britain*, ſhe ought to reprimand them for it, if ſhe conſulted her own intereſt, and make them lay it out upon the improving of their lands for her benefit; which would not only turn to ten times more account, but is abſolutely neceſſary to preſerve their connection, correſpondence and dependence on *Britain*. This muſt certainly appear to all who will be at the pains to conſider the condition and circumſtances of theſe colonies, if not within themſelves, at leaſt with regard to the intereſt of *Great Britain* in them. But in all the accounts and debates we have had on this ſubject, numerous and ſanguine as they have been, we have never once had the leaſt account of their condition and circumſtances, on which the whole merits of the cauſe depend. Before we lay taxes on any people, it would appear to be reaſonable, that we ſhould know their circumſtances and abilities to pay them; and before we make any regulations in trade, it is as proper, that we ſhould know the ſtate of that trade; neither of which ſeem to have been

been known or conſidered *. It is only taken for granted; "of their ability there neither was nor is any reaſon to doubt †;" but how juſt that is, will appear from the foregoing account of their circumſtances, which may be eaſily perceived by any one, by looking into the Cuſtom-houſe accompts. If they might be able to pay a little Tobacco, Rice, Pitch and Tar, or Fiſh, and make their own cloathing for them, inſtead of purchaſing it from *Britain* with theſe commodities, it is certain, they are not able to raiſe *ſterling caſh at* 5 s. 6 d. *per ounce*, in which they were to have paid their taxes. It is not in the nature of things, that theſe colonies or any people on earth ſhould be worth money, where they make ſo little by their agriculture; while they have no manufactures, and the balance of trade againſt them

* All that we have met with on this ſubject is, "the colonies in *North America*, near two millions of *Britiſh* ſubjects, an *opulent*, *commercial*, *thriving* people, and who have been enabled by the patronage of their mother country to extend their trade and their cultivation over that *fertile continent*, ſupported by her wealth, protected by her power, and bleſſed with her laws, &c." *Regulations of the colonies*, p. 57.—To which is added in the *Conſiderations on the trade and finances of this kingdom*, "their ſeas are from all theſe cauſes thronged with ſhips, and their rivers floating with commerce:" But in all this we can ſee nothing but *words* for *things*; which is certainly a very improper way to regulate ſuch important concerns, on which ſo many millions have been expended, and to determine the future ruin or proſperity of the whole nation. No one would care to ſee theſe determined by a — *Vox & præterea nihil.*

† The conduct of the late miniſtry examined, p. 12.

is ſo great. Theſe are the only ſources either of wealth or ſubſiſtence, of which they have neither, that turns to any account.

But we are told, "they do not plead poverty, but privilege ‡:" what their *plea* was, we know not, ſince we have neither ſeen their remonſtrances againſt the ſtamp-act, before it paſſed, nor their petitions againſt it, after it was paſſed; but this we know for certain, and it may be ſeen by many letters from the colonies, that their great objection againſt internal taxes was, the being taxed by thoſe who were unacquainted with their condition and circumſtances, and the proper ways of levying ſuch taxes among them, or the conſequences of them *; but as this was not regarded, it put them upon making the plea of privilege. Be-

‡ *Id. ibid.* p. 124.

* From this we may ſee the difference between internal and external taxes, which many ſay they cannot comprehend. Every one may know the external trade of a country, and the conſequences of laying duties upon it, when they may be totally unacquainted with the internal circumſtances and ſtate of the country. Thus every one knows, that the colonies trade in Rum, Sugar and Molaſſes; but no one ſeems to know what they make by them, or that they loſe money by them, and muſt therefore be unable to pay any on ſuch a loſing trade.—By duties on an external trade you raiſe the price of goods, which people are not obliged to buy, if they cannot afford it, or do not like the price; which is certainly very different from obliging them to pay *ſterling caſh*, by internal taxes, when they have none.

ſides

ſides this, it is well known, their conſtant plea was, that the propoſed taxes and regulations would be highly detrimental to the intereſt of their mother country: and if they had made neither of theſe pleas, they who were concerned for the intereſt of the nation, either at home or abroad, ſhould have made both for them; which would certainly have been much more expedient and prudent, than to have forced them to make the plea they did, ſince no other would be heard.

But it is urged, 'the whole ſum expected to 'be raiſed by the ſtamp-duty was 100,000 *l.* a 'year; the repartition of this upon 1,500,000 'people, at which the loweſt computation eſti-'mates the preſent inhabitants of *that country*, 'would not draw from each perſon more than 'half the value of a *day*'s *labor* in *America* †.' This price of labor in *North America* is made by every one a certain mark, they imagine, of the opulent circumſtances of the people; but this appears to be as little underſtood, as every thing elſe relating to the colonies, and is not a tenth part of what this author and all others ſeem to imagine *.

But

† *Id. ibid.* p. 123.

* We are told by the Author of *the Regulations*, p. 61, "they can earn three ſhillings and ſix-pence *per diem* by "their Agriculture;" to wit, by making Tobacco at a penny a pound, or Corn at two or three ſhillings a buſhel, and that in a ſoil and climate which are unfit to produce either; by which, it is certain, they do not earn as many pence a

But if their circumſtances are bad, it is alledged, 'England has even furniſhed them 'with

day. There are 600,000 labourers in *North Amercia*, who make by all their employments 1,500,000 *l.* a year, which is but 50*s.* a head *per annum*, and not two-pence a day. In the Tobacco colonies they make more by their Agriculture than in any others, and although they are or have been all employed in it, yet 800,000 people make but about 300,000 *l.* a year by their Tobacco, which is but 7*s.* 6*d.* a head *per annum*; and not above 10 or 12 *s.*, including all the other branches of their Agriculture. The labourers, who are about a fifth or ſixth part, make about 50*s.* a head *per annum*, or 3 *l.* at moſt, which is but two-pence a day; and that appears to be the value of labour on plantations in *North America*.

They who eſtimate the price of labour in the colonies, by the day, do not know what their labour is, and much leſs the value of it. There is no ſuch thing as day-labourers on plantations, and it is inconſiſtent with the deſign of them, to admit of any. Day-labourers are only to be found in populous and well-improved countries, where they have a variety of employments which afford them a daily ſubſiſtence; but as nothing will do that without manufactures, they who would eſtimate the price of labour in the colonies, by the day, muſt of courſe admit of manufactures. But on plantations every one is employed by the year, in order to make a *Crop*, which laſts for a twelvemonth. Now, the wages of ſuch labourers are four or five pounds a year for men, and forty ſhillings for women, who are the chief manufacturers; this brings the price of labour at a medium to 3 *l.* a year, which is but two-pence a day, for every day in the year.

The dearneſs of day-labour in the colonies proceeds from two cauſes; firſt, the labourers who are thus employed by the year, in order to make a crop of ſtaple commodities for *Britain*, and their proviſions with it, may loſe their whole crop by neglecting it for a few days, and cannot ſpare a day's work without loſing ten times as much as it is worth,

'with resources to raise the revenue she has 'required; the bounties given to them on two 'or three articles alone would enable them to 'support

worth, and perhaps their whole year's subsistence; which is the true cause of the dearness of day-labor in the plantations.

Secondly, if there are any *common labourers* to be found, who are not engaged by the year, as there seldom are, they cannot find employment for above a few days in a month perhaps; and for that reason, they must have as much for two or three days work, as will maintain them for as many weeks; but at the year's end they have not perhaps earned two-pence a day, for all the wages they may get, which is generally a shilling a day, meaning always *sterling cash*. Thus the day-labourers of the colonies, if there are any, are only the vagrants, and not the labourers, of the country; who stroll from place to place without house or home, are cloathed in rags, and have not bare necessaries, notwithstanding the supposed high price of their labour.

About populous towns the case is very different, and labour much dearer; they do not there make the necessaries of life, which enhances the price of labour; they have likewise a variety of employments, and a demand for labourers, who are employed on plantations in the country, and by that means are scarce and dear. Thus we are not to estimate the price of labour from a few towns, as *Boston*, *New-York*, or *Philadelphia*, which we only hear of in *Britain*. These are not plantations, but trading or manufacturing towns, *which shall not be inhabited without Tradesmen and Artificers*, says the wise man; whose labour is still dearer, because Artists are scarce, and have not constant employment, and so much the better for *Britain*.

It is for these and the like reasons, that the common opinions received and propagated in *Britain*, concerning the colonies, are no more than so many vulgar errors, of which we have a list that might make a volume; and particularly with regard to the soil, climate, agriculture, staple commodities, their trade, labour, and manufactures, the great concerns of the nation. By these means most people here seem not to know their own interest in the colonies, and mistake

'ſupport the new impoſitions *,' which are eſtimated at a million a year †! The bounties here meant are thoſe upon Hemp, Flax, and

the one for the other. But they muſt certainly have good reaſon to be ſatisfied, that all the regulations, here mentioned, are directly contrary to the intereſt of *Britain*; and that the colonies and all others have ſhewn a ſincere zeal for the welfare of this nation in oppoſing them, if they have been expoſed to blame and cenſure for their pains.

Among other-things it is alledged, that the colonies cannot make manufactures, on account of the dearneſs of labour; when two-thirds or three-fourths of the people are clothed with manufactures of their own making; which are ſo far from being dear, that they coſt little or nothing, but induſtry, as we know by experience. They make them for their own uſe, and as theſe are ſo much better than what are made for ſale, it is an inducement for every one almoſt to make them, as we have found with many others by experience. And if labour is now dear, manufactures will make it cheap, by affording conſtant and daily employment for labourers; and ſupplying them with clothing at a cheaper rate than they can have it from *Britain*, which now comes dear to the poor in *America*, by paſſing through ſo many hands before the conſumers get it, and thereby enhances the price of their labour.

But ſay the authors of our regulations concerning the colonies, they ſhall not eſtabliſh public manufactories for ſale; which we were at firſt apt to believe would be contrary to the intereſt of *Britain*, and for that reaſon it is propoſed to lay an account of ſuch manufactures before the public; but upon conſidering theſe things more carefully, we have the misfortune to differ from many about them, when we intend the ſame thing. A few people employed in manufactures, would make as many as they all do, and the reſt might be employed in cultivating their lands for *Britain*; but ſo long as the planters and others are all concerned in making their own manufactures, they not only ſupply

* *Id. ibid.* † Conſiderations, p. 70.

and Timber, which were the great arguments for palliating the late regulations and taxes, but they have proved as ineffectual as all others.

ſupply themſelves, but cut off all ſupplies from the nation at home; which is the great cauſe of the few returns they make, and conſequently increaſes their manufactures.

There appears to be no way to prevent this ſtate, into which the colonies have and muſt fall, but by a number and variety of employments in planting, or making of ſtaple commodities for *Britain*, in order to purchaſe their neceſſaries from hence, as is above propoſed; that would reduce the wages of common or day-labourers for ſuch employments, inſtead of manufactures, which they will otherwiſe make much cheaper than we can in *Britain*. The price of labor is always in proportion to the neceſſaries of life, which their plenty of land renders cheap, and conſequently labor; but here, where lands are ſo ſcarce, and the neceſſaries of life ſo dear, both labor and manufactures are much dearer than in the colonies, when they are once acquainted with the way of making them. It is for this reaſon, that we have been at this pains to compare the agriculture, labor and manufactures of both, as all the great and important concerns of the nation depend on theſe reſources.

For theſe reaſons we may be aſſured, that the colonies muſt have manufactures, and a trade in them, when they grow populous, unleſs that is prevented by the means above propoſed. It is indeed here inſinuated, that the number of people in them is but 1,500,000; but we would not have any one be poſitive about that; the exact number of people in any country is indeed uncertain, but we may be well aſſured, it is much greater in the colonies, than the computations make it, for the reaſons above given: and as ſoon as they eſtabliſh manufactures, and have that reſource of ſubſiſting, with their agriculture, they will increaſe faſter than they have hitherto done; ſo that for this reaſon, as well as others, we ought to conſider in time, how they are to ſubſiſt by a dependence on *Britain*.

Timber

Timber will not bear the charge of tranſportation from *North America*, and it is not certain, whether they could get it at the price it muſt ſell for there, to allow any profits on bringing it to *Britain*; and if they make Hemp or Flax, it is only a little for their own manufactures, which will not furniſh them with *ſterling caſh* to pay taxes; unleſs they vend their manufactures, which ſuch an impoſition muſt have forced them to do *. It muſt indeed be

* This argument is ſtill farther urged, in the *Conſiderations on the Trade of this Kingdom*, p. 75, as a reſource for enabling the colonies 'to pay their debt to this country; 'but the new duties are repreſented as depriving them of 'the means of diſcharging it: this complaint would be juſt' (as it certainly is) 'if a revenue had been exacted from them 'without furniſhing them with reſources for raiſing it; but 'the peace, and *the meaſures taken ſince for improving the* '*advantages of it*, have done much more; for it would be 'rating the ceſſions made by *France* very low indeed, if 'they were not altogether rated to the *Americans* alone, at 'a ſum much larger than the revenue expected from them.' But they tell us in the colonies themſelves, where they ſhould know beſt, 'our trade upon the whole has not been 'benefited by our acquiſitions one groat.' *Otis' Rights of the Britiſh colonies*, p. 64. On the contrary, theſe acquiſitions muſt interfere with the colonies, and deprive them of thoſe reſources, which it is alledged they will give.

As for the meaſures taken for improving the advantages of the peace, they are ſo far from that, that they have deprived the whole nation of the advantages, which might otherwiſe be reaped from it. We can expect no advantages from the peace, but by cultivating the territories of the *Ohio* and *Miſſiſippi*, from which we are excluded by theſe meaſures; the worſt part of them all, which ſeems not to be known, nor underſtood; and which for that reaſon we have been at ſuch pains likewiſe to explain.

owned,

owned, that the granting of this bounty was a very juſt and commendable meaſure, and intended for the benefit of the nation, as we believe all the reſt were thought to be; but the misfortune is, this with all the others are more likely to prove a loſs and detriment, than any benefit either to *Great Britain*, or the colonies. The bounty is a loſs to *Britain*, as we have ſhewn, and only raiſes the price of Hemp and Flax on them; which although it may be thought ſome advantage to *Britain* in the other colonies, yet in *New-England* it is a diſadvantage; it obſtructs their trade and fiſhery, the only ſources of their remittances, which they will never make in Hemp or Flax; they want theſe for fiſhing tackle, ſail-cloth and cordage, and are obliged to buy great quantities for theſe uſes, which are for the ſervice of *Britain*. Unleſs they do this, they muſt manufacture their Hemp and Flax.

Theſe miſtakes in the true intereſt of *Britain* proceed from the want of due knowledge of the ſoil and climate of *North America*, and the ſtate of agriculture in it, on which the whole intereſt of the nation in the colonies depends; and which we have for that reaſon been at this pains to explain, however imperfectly that could be done in ſuch a general view of all theſe fundamental concerns of the nation. It is for want of a due knowledge of theſe, that ſo many errors and miſtakes are committed, and ſo many diſcording opinions are daily propagated, that nothing, however untrue, can be

advanced concerning the colonies, but it is defended through ignorance, which is the cloak of all these regulations. It is for this reason, that no one seems to know either the state and circumstances of the colonies, or what resources are, or may be, proper to recruit their circumstances; but on the contrary, take their losses to be resources, and the very obstacles to the true interest of the whole nation both at home and abroad, to be the means of promoting it; of which we have the most flagrant instances in the late regulations *.

Besides

* Of this there are so many instances, that to relate them all, would make a volume. We need only refer to a collection of these erroneous opinions, in *the regulations lately made concerning the colonies*; which we have examined with the greatest care, and can safely say, we hardly find one fact of any consequence in the whole that is true, nor a single argument that is just and conclusive. For this reason these regulations no sooner appeared, than they were exclaimed against by all concerned with them; and were called *mere exaggerations of fancy*, the epithet given to them in the writings of the colonies. How then can we expect, that any people will be submissive to orders, on which every one put this construction?

It is indeed given out, that these regulations were intended for the benefit of *Britain*; and as these colonies are at such a distance, and so little known, many know no better; and it is an easy matter to make people believe what they are told is for their interest, when they do not know the contrary; for which reason we are at this pains to undeceive them. This may be easily done, from a bare mention of these regulations; which were intended,

I. To confine the colonies to their present bounds, and to cut them off from all the more fruitful parts of that continent,

Beſides theſe pretended reſources, it is alledged, 'the increaſe of the eſtabliſhments there 'furniſhes

tinent, which would produce any thing for *Britain*, or enable the colonies to make remittances to her.

II. To lay duties on many of the goods they have from *Britain*, which ſo enhanced their price, that the merchants could not deal in them; and at any rate ſuch duties could only be an additional premium on the manufactures of the colonies, which is already very great, from the dearneſs of *Britiſh* goods.

III. To reſtrain their trade, which is already ſo limited, that it will not maintain a tenth part of the people; and to lay new impoſitions on that trade, by which they are already loſers, although many of the colonies have no other ſource of remittances to *Britain*.

IV. To levy money upon them, when they have none, even to pay their debts in *Britain*; and to lay taxes on them, when they cannot even purchaſe the abſolute neceſſaries they want from *Britain*.

V. The duties laid upon goods were to have been paid by the merchants, who were to collect them, as they could, in the woods of *America*; which was ſo impracticable, that many of the merchants refuſed to ſend the goods commiſſioned from them, and wrote to their correſpondents not to commiſſion any more; of which they gave ſufficient teſtimony.

The reſult and drift therefore of all theſe regulations, and of the oppoſition which the colonies have ſhewn to them, are, whether ſhall they purchaſe their manufactures and other neceſſaries from *Great Britain*, go without them, or make them for themſelves; which is a matter of no ſmall conſequence to this nation, if we conſider the number of people in the colonies, and their daily increaſe; and muſt concern the nation at home, much more than the colonies themſelves. The true intereſt of both indeed is mutual and inſeparable, and you cannot hurt the colonies without doing double damage to *Great Britain*; notwithſtanding the authors of theſe regulations and others would make them a ſeparate intereſt, that the burdens which they

'furniſhes them with another fund, which 'alone would more than balance the account ‖.'

But,

would lay upon the colonies, for the ſupporting of their acquiſitions, may not be thought to fall on *Great Britain*, as they have done with a double loſs. It is this that ſets the colonies and their mother country at variance, to the loſs and detriment of both.

Yet notwithſtanding all theſe regulations have been exploded and repealed, they are ſtill defended; and we are told, in *the Conduct of the late miniſtry*, who exerted themſelves ſo glorioufly in that ſervice of their country, 'the 'principles and *the intentions* of the ſtamp-act, however they 'might be treated in *America*, deſerve the approbation of 'every inhabitant of *Great Britain*.' As for the *principles* on which that act was founded, they are well known to have been only a piece of chicanery; by which it is pretended, that the colonies are no other than corporations *in England*. Were they *in England*, it is true, they would be upon the ſame footing with the corporations here; but as they are at the diſtance of 3000 miles, the difference between them muſt be as wide as that diſtance.—The members of corporations here act in a double capacity, they are both freemen of boroughs or counties, and members of their particular corporations; by which they are entitled to and enjoy all the *privileges* of other *Britiſh* ſubjects, and the *advantages* of their corporations likewiſe; whereas the inhabitants of the colonies enjoy neither of theſe privileges. The one may be both electors of repreſentatives in Parliament, and elected, as they generally are; when the other can be neither. To put them therefore on the ſame footing, which was the *principle* of the ſtamp-act, and the only one on which it was founded, is an argument only fit for ſome attorney to advance in a court of *Niſi prius*, and not to determine the rights of mankind, or privileges of *Britiſh* ſubjects.—Theſe their undoubted privileges the inhabitants of the colonies derive from their *Birth-right*, as *Engliſhmen*; but it was the principle of the ſtamp-act to deprive

‖ *Id. ibid.*

But, alas! we fear, theſe will rather put the balance on the wrong ſide, and prove a prejudice

them of thoſe privileges, to which Nature herſelf, as well as the laws of the land, entitle them.—It is this happy conſtitution, which the colonies derive from their mother country, that attaches them to her, and makes them willingly and chearfully ſubmit to *that* auſpicious government; but it was the principle of the ſtamp-act, to deprive them of their conſtitution and form of government, and their mother country of that certain pledge and ſecurity for their fidelity and allegiance.

Beſides this firſt principle of right, there is another of juſtice and equity, which the votaries of this act ſeem never to have underſtood, or at leaſt to nave regarded. The inhabitants of the colonies do not ſo much as enjoy the benefit and profits of their own labor; we are told above, by one of the beſt judges we have had, "that not one-fourth "part of their produce redounds to their own profit;" all the reſt is reaped by the inhabitants of *Britain*, who enjoy the profits both of their own labor and induſtry, and of the colonies likewiſe: To put them therefore on the ſame footing, and to make them pay taxes, is as contrary to reaſon and juſtice, as to their natural rights, and ſound policy. Before they can pay taxes, they muſt reap all the profits of their own labor; which is the certain way to deprive *Great Britain* of the advantages ſhe does and may receive from them.

But if the inhabitants of *Great Britain* thus enjoy the profits of the labor of the people in the colonies, what can any juſt and reaſonable man think of the firſt impoſing taxes on the laſt, in order to relieve themſelves?—Such a mode of taxation is contrary to the *firſt principles* of liberty, and we meet with no inſtances of it in any part of the world; all people are taxed either by themſelves, or their ſovereign, and not by their fellow-ſubjects, to relieve themſelves.—This ſeems to be a power too great for mankind to be entruſted with.

dice to the colonies, as well as to *Great Britain.* Theſe eſtabliſhments are in *Canada, Nova-*

Were any of the ſubjects of *Great Britain* to ſubmit to ſuch a power, which is commonly exerciſed by a miniſter, they would only be fit tools to make ſlaves of all the reſt. Thus the colonies, by defending their own, preſerve the liberty of their mother country. The ſtamp-act was attended with general warrants, confinement of *members*, ſeizure of their papers, &c. as ſubverſive of liberty at home, as abroad.—Such a power would be ſtill more prejudicial to the inhabitants of *Great Britain*, as it would only ſerve to deprive them of the advantages which they now receive from the labor of the people in the colonies; by exerciſing ſuch a power, the inhabitants of *Great Britain* would only rob themſelves of their beſt income, in order to render the colonies independent of them. They are now, and have always reckoned themſelves, one and the ſame people; but it was *the principle* of the ſtamp-act, to divide them; deprive an *Engliſhman* of the right of being taxed by repreſentatives of his own chooſing, he ceaſes to be one, and will never reckon himſelf a member of the community; but if you will not allow them to be *Engliſhmen*, conſider in time, what they are to be.—It was by depriving the people of their liberties and privileges, that *Flanders* coſt *Spain* three hundred millions of money, for no other purpoſe but to loſe it at laſt; and take care, that *Britain* does not ſuſtain the like loſs from *North America*; which will certainly be the caſe, ſooner or later, if you deprive the people of their liberties and privileges; whereas by letting them enjoy theſe their natural rights, you may reap all the benefits of them without any thing more to do, and have that for the moſt certain pledge of their allegiance and dependence.

Thus the ſtamp-act was founded on *principles*, as ruinous to this nation, as *the intentions* of it appear to be. It was intended for no other purpoſe, but to ſupport thoſe deſerts of *Canada* and *Florida*, which the authors and votaries of this act would call valuable *acquiſitions*, becauſe they gave up ſo many real and valuable acquiſitions for theſe;

Nova-Scotia, Georgia, Eaſt and *Weſt Florida*, with which the colonies have nothing to do. All that they can expect from theſe new ſettlements is, to interfere with them, and cut off ſo much of their reſources in remittances to *Britain*, which muſt prove equally prejudicial to both.

theſe; which put the nation to all theſe expences, and cannot ſo much as defray their own charges. Unleſs they are maintained at a public expence, *Canada* could not ſubſiſt, and *Florida* would have no people in it; but as theſe are all we have got for 80 millions of money, and for all the glorious ſucceſſes of the war, they muſt be ſupported, whether they are worthy of it or not. But it is no doubt a very great hardſhip on *Britain*, to be at ſuch a charge, without any manner of profit; and for that reaſon, it muſt be thrown upon the colonies, right or wrong; whether they are able to bear it or not, and however ruinous it may be to the nation. For this reaſon, the colonies muſt be looked upon as a ſeparate intereſt from their mother country, leſt this burden ſhould be thought to fall upon her; as it not only has done, but would have been attended with a double loſs to her, if it had been laid upon the colonies. This was *the intention* of the ſtamp-act, and of all the regulations made with it; which were intended to make theſe appear to be valuable and profitable acquiſitions, contrary to nature itſelf. That is as impracticable, as the execution of the ſtamp-act. Since the one therefore has been repealed, and the means of ſupporting theſe deſerts are found ineffectual, why ſhould the nation be burdened with them? There could not be a more effectual way to ruin the intereſt of *Great Britain* in *North America*, as we have ſhewn. The colonies therefore, in oppoſing that act, and the regulations made with it, have conſulted the true intereſt of their mother country; and have only oppoſed meaſures, which were as unjuſt and impracticable, as ruinous to the whole nation,

Hence

Hence it is a very fallacious argument to ſay, "the expenditure was reſtrained to *that coun-* "*try**;" becauſe it was ordered, that "all "the produce of the *American* duties ſhould "be paid to the deputy pay-maſter in *Ame-* "*rica*, to defray the ſubſiſtence of the troops ‖:" for theſe troops were kept in the new governments or acquiſitions here mentioned, *Canada*, *Nova-Scotia*, and *Florida*, and not in the colonies which were to have paid this money for their ſubſiſtence. All the money therefore raiſed in the colonies, muſt have been drawn out of them, and ſent to theſe hopeful acquiſitions, for *their* ſupport, and not for any benefit or advantage to *that country*, in which it was to have been paid. The money was to have been raiſed by our ſeveral colonies from *New-England* to *South Carolina*, which are many hundred miles from thoſe in which it is expended; ſo that the colonies get as little by all theſe expences which the nation is put to, as their mother country. Hence they muſt infallibly have been drained of their ſpecie, in a year or two at moſt, and to ſuch a degree, that it muſt have ruined their credit, depreciated their paper currency, and would have left them without any medium of trade with *Britain*, to her very great loſs and detriment, as is above ſhewn. It was propoſed to have raiſed 100,000 *l.* annually by the ſtamps, and nigh as

* The Conſiderations, p. 74.

‖ Conduct of the Adminiſtration, p. 38.

much

much more by the cuſtoms and duties on their trade, there and here together, which appears, by all accounts, to be as much money as is in all the *North American* colonies *; this they were ſo

* How much money may be in the colonies, we believe is difficult to determine for certain; but we have known many computations made of it, on account of their paper currencies, both by the officers of the revenue who collected it, and by the merchants to whom it was due; who all agreed, that in the moſt opulent colonies, and in their moſt flouriſhing circumſtances, it never exceeded 80,000*l.* or 100,000*l.* at moſt: This was reckoned to be a fourth or fifth part of all the money on that continent, and it is now well known not to be a third or fourth part of what it was then; inſomuch that nothing hardly is to be met with but a paper currency, even in the colonies which never before had any, as *Virginia*, which has a better ſtaple than any of the reſt to purchaſe money.

Their money is all ſent to *Britain*, as faſt as they can get any; they either owe it here, or lodge it here, in order to purchaſe negroes, whenever they can ſave as much as will buy one. The money'd men in the colonies do not even keep their money there, but here, by which they could have gained 30 or 40 *per cent.*, at the time theſe regulations were made; wherefore, if you would have collected *ſterling caſh* from them, it ſhould have been here in *England*, where all they have is generally to be found. It is lodged here, to be laid out in negroes, in order to keep up and enlarge their plantations of ſtaple commodities for *Britain*, on which her intereſt in the colonies entirely depends: This is the laſt end of all the money in the colonies, which is all remitted to *Britain*, and for her benefit in the plantations. It is well known, that the *African* merchants will take none of the products of the country for negroes, and nothing but money, or bills which are more valuable; ſo that to drain them of money, by which alone they can purchaſe negroes, and cultivate their plantations for the benefit of

ſo ſenſible of, that although we are told here, *they did not plead poverty but privilege*, yet it is well

of *Britain*, or have a medium of trade with her, muſt be perfectly ruinous to this nation. Now if this had been done for the ſake of *Canada* and *Florida*, what can any one think of ſuch *acquiſitions*, as they are called! or of ſuch regulations made to ſupport theſe aſſerts, to the ruin of the intereſt of the nation in all her other colonies!

They who are in the leaſt acquainted with the colonies, muſt have ſeen, that it was impoſſible for them to have money, when theſe taxes were impoſed upon them. Their money is imported by the northern colonies, who ſend it to the ſouthern for bills on *Britain*, which they give on their ſtaple commodities, of which the northern colonies have none; but in the time of the war they loſt great part of their commodities, and could give no bills upon them: The money likewiſe was drawn out of the ſouthern colonies, in order to pay the troops in the northern; by which the firſt are quite drained of ſpecie; and as the laſt have no commodities to ſend to *Britain*, they were obliged to remit their caſh; by which means they both loſt their money, and have not as much left as will ſerve for a medium of trade, which is complained of by all the *Britiſh* merchants concerned with them.

In making theſe remittances to *Britain*, the colonies loſt a third part of their money by the exchange, which was from 30 to 40 *per cent.* againſt them, particularly in *Virginia*. This was occaſioned by their debts in *Britain*, and the great demand for bills, which were granted to *Britiſh* Merchants; for that reaſon they remitted caſh, and now when that is all gone, the exchange within this twelvemonth has fallen 40 *per cent.*; which is a ſure ſign, they have no money left to purchaſe bills, when they ſtill have ſuch a demand for them to pay their debts in *Britain*.—Their money is ſo ſcarce, that in *Virginia*, which is reckoned to be the richeſt, they had not as much as would diſcharge their paper currency, when it became due; but were obliged to keep it current to ſerve for a medium of trade, or rather of an internal commerce.

We

well known, that the faculty of lawyers, in *New-Jerſey* in particular, gave it as their opinion to the chief juſtice, "there was not as "much money in the country, as would pay "the ſtamp duties alone for one year;" and the ſame was generally believed in all the other colonies, if we include the other taxes. Hence the execution of the ſtamp-act muſt at any rate have been impracticable, and as ruinous in its conſequence, eſpecially to *Britain*, as it was, by all true patriots and friends of liberty, deemed in itſelf to be arbitrary and unjuſt. It was for theſe reaſons, that the whole body of merchants concerned in the trade to the colonies, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to have that act, with the regulations attending it, repealed; which was accordingly done, by thoſe who deſerve the thanks and applauſe of the whole nation for what they did, notwithſtanding the invidious cenſure thrown upon them for their pains, which is as unjuſt, as every thing elſe that is ſaid againſt thoſe tranſactions *.

The

* We are told in *the Conduct of the late miniſtry*, p. 118, "a regular ſociety of *American* merchants in *London*, was "formed for this among other purpoſes--and the counſels "of the kingdom were guided, by the temporary and par-"tial views of a junto of intereſted traders held at a ta-"vern." This ſociety was formed by a general meeting of all the merchants trading to *North America*; who, after taking into conſideration the ſtate of their trade, and ſituation of their affairs, thought it neceſſary to appoint a committee of their number, in order to repreſent them; they

The plauſible pretence indeed that is uſed for all theſe meaſures, is, that "this expence "is neceſſary for their own defence and pro-"tection †;" and as that opinion has ſo gene-

accordingly met at that tavern, where the general meeting was held, and which is the uſual place of meeting for the whole body of merchants concerned, either in the trade to *North America*, or the *Weſt-Indies*. This was as regular and uſual a way of tranſacting all buſineſs of this kind, as it is a proper one. Many other ſuch ſocieties were formed in all the principal towns in the kingdom, who ſent ſome of the moſt conſiderable and reſpectable of their body, to act in conjunction with the merchants of *London*, in order to get theſe ruinous acts and regulations repealed. Such a general repreſentation of the merchants of *Great Britain* does not, ſurely, deſerve the name of *a Junto*.

It is only from ſuch information, that even the people concerned in it can know the general ſtate of ſuch an extenſive trade; and if others had been influenced by ſuch information, it would have been better for them, and the whole nation. They found, among other things, that the *North American* colonies owed upwards of five millions of money to *Great Britain*; which alone, conſidering their circumſtances, muſt appear to every impartial judge, not to deſerve the name of a *temporary and partial view*, but that ſerious regard which the legiſlature thought fit to pay to that, and many other important concerns repreſented at the ſame time; on which the "permanent and extenſive commercial "intereſts" of this nation depend; although we are here told, "the counſels of the kingdom were not guided by "ſuch conſiderations."

Theſe things we mention, as this is a proper leſſon for others to take ſuch information and advice concerning the affairs of the nation in *America*, which appear to be ſo little known, or underſtood; and as the ſtamp-act was repealed upon ſuch good advice and information, it muſt ſatisfy every unprejudiced perſon of the propriety of that meaſure.

† *Idem*, p. 13.

rally

rally prevailed, it ſhews how little people are acquainted with the colonies, or with their ſafety and protection, as well as every thing elſe concerning them. Can it be ſuppoſed, that theſe colonies, which are now ſo much more populous and powerful than ever, and are entirely free from an enemy, by which they were before ſurrounded, can now want any ſuch defence and protection, which they never had before? or that ſuch an immoderate charge is now neceſſary for their protection, when no ſuch expence was ever before incurred for the moſt neceſſary ſervices? If it were, it abundantly appears, from the falſe and injurious aſperſions which the defender and ſuppoſed author of theſe meaſures would injudiciouſly and unjuſtly throw upon the colonies, to the widening of theſe differences between them and their mother country *, that he at leaſt has no ſuch regard for *them*, as to be at this expence on *their* account. They never before had above four, or at moſt ſix, independent companies in all *North America*, and can they now want fifteen regiments, the number kept there, when they have no enemy to fear; and are ſo much more able to defend themſelves? Surely, if ſuch an expence is now neceſſary for the protection of our colonies, after the immenſe ſums that have been expended to gain a compleat ſecurity for them, and with all the ſucceſs that

* *Idem*, p. 137—147, & *alibi paſſim*.

men could desire, they must have made but a bad use both of that treasure of the nation, and of the successes gained by it.

Besides, the colonies are defended by their militia, which they are at great expence to raise and train; every person in them, capable of the service, is obliged to bear arms, and to be provided with them at their own expence; which not only defends them, but it is universally allowed, that in all parts of the world, where the people are at such an expence, and are thus taken from their labour, and other occupations, to serve in a militia, it is reckoned a very great hardship to burden them at the same time with a standing army in time of peace: Especially when they have been so lately exhausted, and involved in such a debt, by maintaining so considerable an army in the war; the first time the colonies were ever able to aim at such an expence, and which, it is to be feared, they will hardly be able to sustain, without a total ruin of their credit in *Britain*; which must be more prejudicial to their Mother Country, than to them. And such an expence of a standing army, with their militia, is the more grievous, as they have no manner of use nor occasion for it. They who would make that expence necessary for their protection, do not understand what their safety and security consist in. The colonies must defend themselves with their hands, and not with their purses. If you would expect any service of this kind from them, it must be a *servitium in capite*, *a personal*

a perſonal ſervice, as it was called by our fore-fathers in *Britain*; and not a pecuniary ſervice, *in ſterling caſh*, when they had none.—In the late war the colonies were repaid the money they expended in defending themſelves, and protecting his Majeſty's dominions, as it was thought they could not well bear the burden of one or two hundred thouſand pounds; but now, the Authors of the Stamp-act and Regulations would exact money from them, when they had raiſed ſix millions, and have quite exhauſted themſelves by theſe public ſervices.—In the late war they raiſed but two or three thouſand men, for which they were repaid by *Britain*; but in the laſt war they maintained 25,000, for which it is now expected they ſhould pay, after they are involved in debt, drained of money, and their trade and credit are ruined by that ſervice; not to mention the heavy taxes they paid in the time of the war, and ſtill continue to pay *.

The

* What theſe taxes are, which the colonies pay, ſeems never to have been conſidered, nor inquired into; without which none can know what they can or ſhould pay. We only know for certain, that in *New-England* they paid a land-tax, amounting to ſix ſhillings and eight-pence in the pound; a tax on all perſonal eſtates with it, and even on all trades and faculties; a poll-tax; impoſts on trade, &c.; as may be ſeen by the printed accounts of their taxes, delivered to every one for their payment. Theſe ſeveral taxes, we are well aſſured by thoſe who paid them, amounted to twelve and fourteen ſhillings in the pound, at the time when theſe new taxes were to have been impoſed on them in *England*; beſides all the taxes they pay on the *Britiſh* goods

The protection of all the *Britiſh* dominions, both at home and abroad, depends upon the fleets and maritime power of *Great Britain*; and not on a few troops diſperſed up and down in the deſerts of *Canada* and *Florida*, at ſuch a diſtance from all the colonies on that Continent, as well as every other part of the King's dominions, that they can neither defend them, nor be defended by them. This protection,

goods they conſume. A merchant of *Boſton*, of undoubted credit, aſſured his correſpondents here, that he paid 300 *l.* a year in taxes.

In *Virginia* again they were obliged, on account of the expences in the war, to ſubmit to a land-tax; which is a tax upon their tobacco, and other ſtaple commodities that ſhould be ſent to *Britain*, and more ruinous to their Mother Country, than to them. If this nation, either at home or abroad, would conſult her true intereſt, ſhe ſhould never ſuffer a tax to be laid on the lands in *America*, ſince it is only from the produce of them, that the colonies can make any returns to *Britain*; but by a tax upon the lands there, with the high duties upon the produce of them here, they are rendered ſo unprofitable, that none can afford either to make them, or trade in them. It is for this reaſon, among others, that many are obliged to leave off planting tobacco.

Now, if we conſider that the colonies bore all theſe burdens, in order to ſecure the fiſhery to *Britain*, which was the firſt object and occaſion of the war, they would be very ill rewarded, to be deprived of their liberties and privileges for their pains; and to be burdened with new taxes, which it is impoſſible for them to pay; and that for ſervices which are rather detrimental than beneficial to them; or at leaſt are unneceſſary, and of no uſe to the nation, either at home or abroad. For theſe ſervices they raiſed ſix millions of money; and as they have to pay both principal and intereſt, it is much more to them, than all the expences of the war are to *England*.

which the colonies both want and get from their Mother Country, ariſes from the *Britiſh* navy, which ſecures them from invaſions; and that they both ſupport and maintain, by the trade and navigation to them, and by paying the charges of all the *Britiſh* ſhips and mariners, numerous as they are, which are concerned in that trade: for this they pay at leaſt one half of their whole income, as we have ſhewn above, which is the tax they pay for their protection; and is as great a one, if not greater, than is paid by any *Britiſh* ſubjects; or whether or not, it is certainly as great a tax, as they can poſſibly be ſuppoſed to be able to pay in their circumſtances, and ten times more advantageous to this nation, than all the taxes that were impoſed upon them could ever have been.

By theſe means, the colonies not only pay for their own protection, but help to protect all his Majeſty's dominions, in all parts of the world. It is upon this trade to the plantations, that the ſafety of the whole nation depends, and more particularly of *Great Britain* itſelf. It ought never to be forgot, for the ſafety of *Great Britain*, what was ſo very remarkable in the ſpring of the year 1756, when *England* was threatened with an invaſion, and could not man a fleet for ſix weeks, on account of an eaſterly wind which blew during the whole time of that imminent danger; at which the whole nation was in the utmoſt conſternation, till a weſterly wind brought our ſhips home from *America*;

America; after which our fleet was manned in a week or two. This is a fact which was taken notice of, and recorded at the time it happened, when it was known to every one *. To ruin this trade to the colonies, therefore, as it muſt have been, for the ſake of a petty revenue, which could neither be paid nor collected, is the certain way to deprive the whole nation, both at home and abroad, of the only ſafety and ſecurity it enjoys, and that by the means we take to preſerve them. Of this we have another moſt convincing proof, during the very ſhort time that theſe regulations laſted in *America*; when we are told by a very good judge and credible eye-witneſs on the ſpot, "twenty "thouſand ſeamen and fiſhermen are turned "out of employ, and the ſhipping they uſed to "navigate and improve, are hauled up, and "laid by as uſeleſs †." But 20,000 ſeamen would have been a much greater ſecurity to the colonies, and to all the *Britiſh* dominions, than ten times the number of ſoldiers, which theſe, or thrice as many more ſuch taxes, would ever have maintained; and the one gain wealth, to pay themſelves and others, when it may be wanted, whereas the others conſume the ſinews of war in time of peace.

This loſs of trade by the late regulations is the more to be regarded, as they ſeem to have

* See the Conteſt in *America*.

† Eſſay on the Trade of the northern Colonies, *London* 1764, p. 26.

been

been calculated, as much as if they had been contrived for the purpoſe, to ruin the colonies of *New England*; which are, and always have been, the bulwark of all the *Britiſh* dominions in *America*; to whom this nation owes both the fiſhery of *Newfoundland*, and all her other poſſeſſions in the Northern parts of that Continent. When King *Charles* II. gave *Nova Scotia* to the *French*, the people of *New-England*, knowing the conſequences of it, if they were not known in *Britain*, would never let them have quiet poſſeſſion of that country; by which they were able to take it from them on the firſt opportunity that offered at the commencement of the war in 1690, and finally rooted them out of it in 1710, which has ever ſince ſecured the fiſhery. They did the ſame by the taking of *Louiſburg*, and breaking up all the *French* fiſhery in *Newfoundland*, at the commencement of the late war. And in the laſt war they beat the *French* on the frontiers of *New-York* with equal numbers, raiſed ten thouſand men immediately after it, and thereby covered all the *Britiſh* dominions from the imminent danger to which they were expoſed, when we had not a man there for that purpoſe; and afterwards raiſed and maintained the greateſt part of the army, to which our ſucceſſes in the war, and the ſalvation of this nation, were owing. It is in a word to *New-England*, that we owe the expulſion of the *French* from *North America*; all which ſervices they are only

enabled to perform by means of their trade and fiſhery, which are, or would have been, thus ruined by the late regulations *. It is by their ſeamen

* The great ſupport of *New-England*, and the chief ſource both of their ſubſiſtence, trade, and remittances to *Britain*, is the fiſhery, which amounts to about 250,000*l. per annum*, including all the ſpecies of cod, herring, mackarel and whale fiſhery; great part of this fiſh they are obliged to ſell for molaſſes, as the *French* will let them have nothing elſe for it: But upon our laying a duty of three-pence a gallon on their molaſſes, they exacted 8 *s.* a quintal on our fiſh, which is at leaſt 40 *per cent.*; and as the duty on molaſſes amounted to 40 *per cent.* more, there was a duty of 80 *per cent.* on ſuch an unprofitable trade as this in fiſh and molaſſes, and on ſuch a poor employment as the fiſhery; which rather deſerves a public encouragement, if we conſider its advantages to the nation.

Beſides, in *New-England* the fiſhery is not only a ſource of trade and wealth, and nurſery of ſeamen, but it is a neceſſary of life, without which theſe colonies could not ſubſiſt. It is with their fiſh, that they ſupply the want of other proviſions, and purchaſe the Corn they eat, which the land will not produce; whence the duty of three-pence a gallon on molaſſes, which we are told by the authors of *the Regulations in the Colonies*, "is but three halfpence on a "gallon of rum," is in *New-England* more than 50 *per cent.* on the moſt abſolute neceſſaries of life, Corn and Fiſh: And if any one will conſider what ſuch a tax is, in a country which does not produce *Corn to eat*, nor any thing to purchaſe it, it muſt appear to be very grievous indeed. This was the cauſe of the loud complaints of theſe people, who hardly ever have ſo good a crop of Corn, as they have had in this year of ſcarcity in *England*, notwithſtanding the people here have complained ſo much, and raiſed ſuch tumults on that account. Theſe and many other like circumſtances, we believe, were not known to many who impoſed theſe taxes and regulations; and that ſhews the impropriety of laying taxes on people, whoſe condition and circum-

ſeamen and fiſhermen, whom their trade ſupports, that the colonies are defended, and at the ſame time protect the fiſhery of *Newfoundland*; the only thing in all *North America* that wants protection.

How inſufficient the troops kept in *North America* are to protect the colonies, abundantly appeared upon the late inſurrection of the *Indians*. The troops were diſperſed in the deſerts of *Canada* and *Florida*, from *Quebec* to *Penſacola*, *Mobile* and St. *Auguſtine*, at ſuch a diſtance from the colonies, that they could give them no relief; they could not be drawn out of garriſon there, leſt thoſe acquiſitions ſhould be left entirely defenceleſs; and by that means the colonies, waiting for their aſſiſtance, which they could not give, were over-run and maſſacred by a few *Indians*, for a year or two together; till ſome volunteers from *Virginia* and *Penſylvania*, joined a ſmall party of the troops, as is well known, and ſubdued them: This they might have done at firſt, had they been ordered or allowed, and had not been in expectation of being protected by the troops,

circumſtances we are unacquainted with; this is the caſe with regard to all the colonies in *America*, whoſe true ſtate and condition are but very little known here, notwithſtanding the boaſted knowledge of many, who pretend to be mighty well acquainted with them. The accounts we have of them, are from ſailors, ſoldiers and merchants, who are totally unacquainted with agriculture, on which all countries chiefly depend, and more eſpecially colonies.

for whom all these expences are incurred. Yet it is pretended, the colonies could not defend themselves from the *Indians* *; which they have done for 150 years, when they were ten times weaker, and the *Indians* as much stronger.

Now, if the colonies should be invaded by a foreign enemy, what protection could they expect from these troops, who could not defend them from a handful of *Indians?* If upon any such invasion we were to draw the force out of our colonies, they would be exposed; and if we did not, these defenceless acquisitions must fall a sacrifice, and would require much more protection, than all the troops in them can give. Thus the colonies would not only be burdened with these, or any other charges that may be laid on them, to support these insignificant acquisitions, but they will have them to protect and defend after all; and must themselves be exposed to danger, instead of being defended by them, or by all these expences which are incurred for *their* protection, as is pretended. Suppose, *Canada*, or *Nova-Scotia* were to be invaded, how would they ever be defended without the assistance of *New-England* and *New-York?* All the troops there would hardly be sufficient to guard the country against its intestine foes, the confirmed catholics of *Canada*. So if *Florida* were to be in-

* *Idem*, p. 137. Considerations, p. 84, &c.

vaded,

vaded, it could hardly have any relief, till we get a force in the countries above-mentioned.

From all theſe conſiderations it muſt appear, that this expence, which is ſo burdenſome to the nation, is entirely needleſs. It was but a mere plauſible pretence to ſay, that it was wanted, *towards defraying the neceſſary expences of defending, protecting and ſecuring his majeſty's colonies and plantations in America*, the pretext for which theſe ſupplies were granted. By this deſcription they only mean *Canada* and *Florida*, in which the troops paid by theſe ſubſidies are kept. They are there kept to ſtarve and periſh, more to ſupport and maintain theſe uſeleſs and unprofitable ſettlements, than to defend and protect any of the *Britiſh* dominions. Withdraw our troops out of *Canada*, as we have ſaid, it could not ſubſiſt; and there would be no people in *Florida*, unleſs they were maintained at this public expence. It is therefore only to ſupport theſe deſerts, that all theſe expences are incurred, and all theſe diſturbances have been raiſed; which in two or three years have done this nation more harm, than the *French* could have done in twenty, if they had continued in *Canada*. All the conqueſts made by the glorious ſucceſſes of the war, amounting in value to ſix or ſeven millions a year, were given up for theſe deſerts of *Canada* and *Florida*; and for that reaſon they muſt be ſupported as valuable acquiſitions, although it is at this expence, and to the ruin of the nation.

tion. This was the deſign, and only uſe, of taxing the colonies, or of keeping ſuch a force in *North America*, after our enemies had been drove out of it; and both *Canada* and *Cape-Breton* are reduced. But if the firſt of theſe were diſmantled and evacuated, for which it is only fit, as the other, which was of much greater conſequence and importance, has been, we ſhould be rid of all farther trouble and expences in defending, protecting, and ſecuring of either; with which we ſhall otherwiſe for ever be ſaddled; and the nation would be ſecure from the many troubles, in which *Canada* muſt otherwiſe involve it *.

As

* It was from the neſt of *French* left in *Nova Scotia*, after the Treaty of *Utrecht*, that the nation was involved in the laſt war, in order to prevent their ſeizing the whole fiſhery; and by leaving a like neſt in *Canada*, this nation will for ever be expoſed to the like troubles, till ſhe roots out the one, as ſhe was obliged to do the other. Since they have the Catholic religion eſtabliſhed among them, and are even allowed a Popiſh Biſhop in the *Britiſh* dominions, with the *French* language, cuſtoms, &c., we cannot ſuppoſe that they will ever become *Engliſhmen*, or true ſubjects of *Britain*. Under a *Britiſh* government they are deprived of thoſe poſts and penſions, which were the ſupport of *Canada*, and of all the leading people in it; the loſs of which will ever render them enemies to this nation, as we may already ſee by their remonſtrances.

As for the poſſeſſion of theſe Northern frozen deſerts, none of them were ever thought worthy of it. The *French* were only ſuffered to ſettle in *Canada*, which was given to them again, after it was taken from them in 1629, becauſe it was not worth poſſeſſing. Even after *Nova Scotia* was reſtored by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, none but a few indigent fiſhermen would ever go nigh it; and it will certainly never be

As for the defence and ſecurity of our colonies, it is well known, that *Crown Point* and *Niagara*

be ſettled, without a public charge and expence, much greater than it is worth.

The only object in all theſe Northern parts of *America* is the fiſhery, in which theſe ſettlements muſt interfere with *Britain*, and that in ſuch a manner, as to deprive her of that great ſource of her maritime power, and of the very object which the nation engaged in the war to ſecure. The fiſhery of the colonies is already much greater than that of *Britain*; the fiſhery of *New-England* alone amounts to 250,000 or 260,000 *l.* a year, which is equal to the amount of the *Britiſh* fiſhery; and although *New England* does not ſo much interfere with *Britain* in the fiſhery, as they fiſh on the Southern banks, South of Cape *Sable*, and the Iſland of *Sable*, where the *Britiſh* ſhips never fiſh, yet ſettlements to the Northward of that muſt ruin the fiſhery of both, by being ſo much more convenient to it.

The colonies ſhould cultivate the vaſt tracts of land, of which the nation is poſſeſſed, in order to promote the trade and navigation of *Britain* by that means; and ſhould leave the fiſhery to the *Britiſh* ſeamen, who have to defend and protect the whole: but in theſe Northern climes there are no lands fit to cultivate. This appears even on St. *John*'s Iſland, which is reckoned to be the beſt of all theſe Northern parts of *America*. In order to oblige the inhabitants of that Iſland to cultivate their lands, and to make Corn, the *French* prohibited a part of them to be concerned in the fiſhery; by which they were ſo far from ſupplying others, that they were reduced to the utmoſt miſery and diſtreſs; inſomuch that the officer, who made a ſurvey of that Iſland in 1752, thought it neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, that they ſhould be allowed the fiſhery again, as appears from his *Letters on Cape Breton and St. John's Iſland.*

If any one would form a right judgement concerning theſe countries, let them conſider the climate; let them examine matters of fact, and not depend upon opinions of intereſted people, who are perhaps not able to form a right judgment

Niagara would have ſecured them, both from the *Indians* and the *French*, even when they were

judgment concerning a country, when they ſee it. They ſhould take the advice of *Champlain* concerning *Nova Scotia*; 'It is impoſſible,' ſays he, 'to know that country, 'unleſs you winter in it; for in ſummer every thing appears 'very agreeable on account of the woods, a fine country, 'and good fiſhery; but the winters are intolerable; the 'ſnow which fell on the ſixth of *October*, was never off of 'the ground, but lay three or four feet deep, till the laſt 'of *April* the next year.' This and many other like diſmal accounts and effects of the climate may be ſeen in *Champlain*'s *Journals*, publiſhed at *Paris* in 1613; but in the Hiſtory which he afterwards wrote of the country in 1632, he leaves out all theſe accounts of the climate, both of *Canada* and *Nova Scotia*, as that was made an objection to the ſettling of them; and in all our other accounts of theſe countries, public or private, we ſee the like omiſſion, copied from this of *Champlain*.

But if we evacuate *Canada*, the *French* will take it again, ſay they; to which we may anſwer, The loſs would not be great, if they ſhould; on the contrary, if we are to be burdened with ſuch a charge without any manner of profit, and to loſe all the fruitful parts of the Continent, which muſt deprive the nation of the benefit of her other colonies, for the ſake of theſe deſerts, we had much better be without them. We had no ſooner got them, than every one, who knew any thing about them, would have been glad to have been fairly rid of them. If the *French* ever attempt *Canada* again, it will only be to diſtreſs *Britain*; which they will be much more able to do by ſettlements in the country, than without them.

It appears from many inſtances, that all theſe countries are uninhabitable, and can never be held, without good accommodations and freſh proviſions.—When *Jacques Cartier* firſt wintered at *Montreal* in 1535, he loſt ſo many of his men by the cold and ſcurvy, that he deemed the country not fit to inhabit, and abandoned it on that account.—He

were in poſſeſſion of *Canada*, and much more now when they are drove out of it; but *Quebec* and *Montreal* will do neither. Theſe, or *Florida*, are no greater ſecurity to our colonies, than a fort in the *Orkneys* would be to *England*. On the contrary, the *French* may ſeize theſe, and thereby hold the country, in order to diſtreſs our colonies, by means of the accommodations which we keep up for their reception, without which an army muſt periſh. The ſecurity we obtain is from the expulſion of our enemies, and not from maintaining them in the country, to put the nation again to all

and Mr. *Roberval* made a ſecond attempt in 1540 at *Quebec*, but ſoon abandoned it for the ſame reaſon.—The *French* never afterwards attempted *Canada*, till the year 1599, when Mr. *Chauvin* left ſome people at *Saguenay*, who all periſhed with the cold, except a few who were ſaved by the *Indians*.—In 1604, Mr. *de Monts* loſt one half of ſeventy hale and hearty men, and twenty more were at the point of death, by wintering at St. *Croix* in the moſt Southern parts of *Nova Scotia*.—*Champlain* ſuffered the ſame fate at *Quebec* in 1608, when he had but eight men left alive, out of twenty-ſix, and thoſe ſo benumbed with the cold, and crippled with the ſcurvy, that they were unfit for any ſervice; "notwithſtanding they were all well cloathed, lay in good "beds, were kept warm, and well fed," ſays he, in his *Journals*, p. 203.—So in the laſt war, a party of our troops lying out of doors only for one night, before they were aware of the approach of winter, every man of them was ſo maimed with the cold, that not a ſingle one was fit for ſervice during all the reſt of the war.—Such a country could never be held, without the accommodations which have been erected in it, at a much greater expence than they are worth; and which we are at a greater expence to uphold, only to enable an enemy to diſtreſs the nation, and to hold the country, which they could not otherwiſe do.

the expences which have been ſo lately incurred on their account. It is well known, that the *French* propoſed to abandon *Canada* long ago, which they would certainly have done, had it not been for the hopes of gaining ſome more valuable poſſeſſions with it †. They entered into the war to get out of *Canada*, notwithſtanding it was of ſo much greater conſequence to *France*, who had no other colonies there, than it ever can be to *Great Britain*, who has ſo many, with which this only interferes.—The only object in all theſe northern parts of *America* is the fiſhery, for which *Canada* is of no uſe nor ſervice—*Canada* can be nothing but a factory for the Fur trade, and *Nova Scotia* only a fiſhing ſettlement, of both which this nation already has too many.

Whatever any of theſe acquiſitions may be, even if they were to be as profitable, as their advocates would make them, it is paſt doubt, they will never be worth the charges, which the nation is put to ſolely on their account. What that charge may be, is uncertain; we have called it nigh half a million, as we are told by one who ſeems to be in the ſecret, 'the 'charge muſt be between four and five hundred 'thouſand pounds *per annum* *,' including all the ordinary and extraordinary charges; but in theſe laſt no account is taken of the much

† *Vid. Charlevoix* Hiſt. *N. France.*

* Conſiderations on the Trade and Finances of this Kingdom, p. 77.

greater

greater expences the nation may be put to, and the wars in which it may and is likely to be involved, by theſe paltry and defenceleſs ſettlements, which were the occaſion of the laſt war. To ſecure the nation againſt theſe, in *Canada*, *Nova Scotia*, and *Florida*, would require much more than half a million a year; which muſt be placed to the account of charges incurred for the upholding of theſe ſettlements.

This is the more to be regarded, as all this expence muſt fall on *Great Britain*, burdened and oppreſſed as ſhe already is with debts and taxes; and that for no other purpoſe, as we have ſhewn, but to ruin her own intereſt in *North America*, after all it has coſt her. It has indeed been given out, with every thing elſe, that theſe taxes on the colonies were to relieve the ſubject at home; who are ſo unacquainted even with their own intereſt in *America*, that they ſeem not to know the contrary to this day. But even if the colonies had paid their taxes, *Britain* would have been involved in an additional debt, for the ſupport of *Canada* and *Florida*, over and above that aid. The whole of the intended taxes on the colonies they would make to amount but to 160,000 *l.* a year *, when the expence incurred is nigh 500,000 *l*; wherefore, *Great Britain* muſt ſtill have been burdened with a charge of 300,000 *l.*

* *Id. ibid.* p. 71. Conduct of the Miniſtry, p. 123, &c.

per ann., over and above what the colonies were to have paid; by which laſt, we have ſhewn, ſhe muſt have loſt twice or thrice as much. Thus the whole charge and loſs to *Great Britain* would have been at leaſt 600,000 *l.* if not 700,000 *l.* a year, with the probable loſs of her intereſt in the colonies to the bargain. This is all that *Britain* would have got, even if the colonies had paid their taxes. Yet this is what they have all along called the relieving of the ſubject at home by taxes on the colonies; which were in truth intended to burthen them both with ſuch a needleſs and ruinous charge, for the ſake of *Canada* and *Florida!* Had theſe taxes on the colonies been appropriated to the payment of any here, or even to any other neceſſary purpoſe, they might have been ſome relief to the nation at home, however burdenſome they were to the colonies; but for ſuch purpoſes as theſe, to which they were appropriated, they muſt both have been involved in an additional load of taxes, without any manner of benefit to either; but on the contrary, to the prejudice of both. Thus the nation is doubly indebted to the colonies, for ſaving her this needleſs and ruinous expence.

If theſe taxes on the colonies had been paid, without any loſs to *Britain*, they would not have diſcharged above a third part of the expence of maintaining theſe acquiſitions; which

is acknowledged by the authors of theſe meaſures themſelves *; and ſince the whole now falls on *Great Britain*, why ſhould ſhe be burdened with ſuch a needleſs expence? Since the propoſed means of ſupporting theſe acquiſitions, by taxes on the colonies, are as ineffectual as thoſe deſerts are unprofitable, and prejudicial to the whole nation, why ſhould they be any longer ſupported? It muſt appear to be the greateſt impropriety, to be at ſuch an expence in ſupporting colonies, which produce nothing; when we have ſo many others, which are in the ſame ſituation; and when they coſt ten times more than they are worth, or than all our other colonies ever did, or ever would coſt without theſe. The uſe of colonies to this nation is, to load her ſhips, and to ſupply themſelves with neceſſaries from *Britain*; but can any one imagine, that either of theſe can be done in ſuch deſerts as *Canada* or *Florida!* If they cannot, of what uſe can it be to ſupport them at ſuch an expence? By evacuating them, the nation would be free from this charge,

* Conduct of the late Miniſtry, p. 13. We are here told by authority, that the colonies were *to contribute about a third part of the expence*, which was computed to be 160,000 *l.*; from which computation the whole expence muſt have been 480,000 *l.*; ſo that it may well be eſtimated at half a million a year, as we have called it. If we make it leſs, the riſque we run by ſuch a ſaving may make it twice or thrice as much. The nation may thereby loſe the fiſhery of *Newfoundland*, and have all her buſineſs to do over again.

which

which is ten times more than ſhe can ever expect to get from them. We ſee above, that the *French* never reckoned the produce of *Canada* to be above 14,000 *l.* a year, which was all that it yielded, when it fell into our hands; and notwithſtanding the great ſums expended in it, *Canada* produces on an average, by the Cuſtom-houſe accompts, but 22,000 *l.* a year, and *Florida* — nothing; which is nigh all that this nation gets for half a million a year, and for 80 millions expended in the war. Now, if the nation loſes the benefit of her other colonies, with theſe expences, which ſhe certainly muſt do, by neglecting all the fruitful parts of the continent for theſe barren deſerts, nothing could well be more ruinous.

There is no manner of doubt, that this nation will be tired of *Canada*, as ſoon as ſhe comes to know what it is, and to feel the burden of it, which we believe every one who knows any thing about it already is; we ought therefore to think of doing ſomething with it, before the nation is put to any farther expence about it; and either to ſecure it effectually, ſo as to be free from any danger of being ſeized, or to evacuate it. The firſt would certainly be a matter of difficulty, with ſo many *French* as are in the country; and will coſt much more, than we fear will ever be expended upon ſuch an unprofitable ſettlement. To ſecure both *Canada*, *Nova Scotia* and *Florida*, ſo as to render them free from inſults, will be a much

greater expence, than *Britain* will care to be at for any time. But if they are not ſecure from invaſions, ſuch defenceleſs ſettlements can only be a trap to involve the nation again in a new war. The queſtion therefore is, whether will they be ſecure, or not? If they are not, they ſhould be evacuated, and the climate would ſecure them without any expence, which there is no other way to get rid of. If the nation thinks fit to keep them in a conſtant poſture of defence, and to ſettle the *Ohio* and *Miſſiſippi*, with *Canada*, *Nova Scotia*, *Georgia*, *Eaſt* and *Weſt Florida*, there can be no ſuch objection to theſe laſt; but we fear, neither of theſe will ever be done, ſo long as we are burdened with *Canada* and *Florida* for nothing.

As for the making of a profitable colony of *Canada* and *Nova Scotia*, that is contrary to nature itſelf. They, who may be of that opinion, are totally unacquainted with the ſoil and climate of *North America*, as well as with the very deſign and intent of ſettling colonies. Unleſs they live by their agriculture, they can be of no uſe nor ſervice to this nation; but that is certainly not to be expected, either in *Canada*, or *Nova Scotia*. Their agriculture would not even maintain the colonies of *New-England*, which could not ſubſiſt without the fiſhery. In theſe northern parts of *America*, nature has provided that plentiful ſource of ſubſiſtence for mankind in the ſeas, which ſhe has denied to the land. We have heard ſome people indeed alledge,

alledge, that they have a good and fruitful ſoil in ſome parts, or rather ſmall and inſignificant ſpots of *Canada*; but that appears to be impoſſible in ſuch a climate. The *French* tell us from 160 years experience, 'there is no part 'of the world in which the ſoil abounds more 'with ſand and ſtone *,' which is the worſt ſoil of any in the world; and if to this we join the conſideration of the climate, all theſe northern frozen deſerts muſt appear to be very unfit to maintain colonies by their agriculture, even in the neceſſaries of life, and much more by ſtaple commodities for *Britain*. Notwithſtanding theſe northern parts of *America* have been ſettled and frequented longer than any part of that continent, they have never yet produced any one thing, that could be of the leaſt ſervice to this nation. All that can be ſaid for them, is, that a few indigent people may make a ſhift to get the bare neceſſaries of life in them; but we cannot ſee, of what ſervice that can be to this nation. And as far as we can learn, they could not even do that in *Canada*, were it not for the plenty of Eels, which providence ſends them about the beginning of winter. With theſe they are obliged to feed both man and beaſt, for want of Corn and Graſs; than which nothing can ſhew a more miſerable poverty in any country. This is the way of living in the deſerts of *Tartary*, to which the

* *Charlevoix* Hiſt. *N. France*, Tom. v. p. 247.

Jeſuits

Jeſuits on the ſpot juſtly compare the deſerts of *Canada*. All this would abundantly appear from a due account and deſcription of the continent of *North America*, and the ſeveral colonies in it, which the bounds of our diſcourſe will not allow us to give any more particular account of at preſent; although it is from ſuch a particular enquiry into the ſtate of theſe countries, the nature of the ſoil and climate, and what they produce, of which we have had ſo many accounts from the *French* and others, that we have given this opinion concerning them, which might be ſupported by many more ſatisfactory arguments.

The only object in all theſe northern parts of *America*, as we have ſaid, is the fiſhery, and unleſs we have that, we get nothing by the ſettling of the country, but a burden and charge, which they will not defray. There is not even the leaſt proſpect, that any of theſe northern ſettlements will ever be able to defend themſelves, and for that reaſon they put the nation to ſuch an expence for their defence and protection; and muſt expoſe it to perpetual inſults, if not to new wars and troubles on their account. It was by theſe means, that the nation was involved in the laſt war, and ought to conſider the proper methods of preventing the like for the future.

Now, all the world knows, that *Great Britain* was led into the war on account of the diſpute with *France* about the limits of *Nova Scotia*; but

we ſeem not yet to know, or to conſider, what were the objects of that diſpute, or of what ſervice the country could be to either of the two nations. If it had been only for the poſſeſſion of the country, or for any thing that it is fit to produce, neither of the two could ever have engaged in ſuch an expenſive war on that account. The only object in view was the fiſhery, and it was to ſecure that great ſource of her maritime power, and to prevent its falling into the hands of *France*, that *Great Britain* engaged in the war. If the *French* had been poſſeſſed of *Nova Scotia*, with *Canada* and *Cape Breton*, *Newfoundland* would have been an eaſy conqueſt; that muſt have fallen next, and the whole fiſhery with it. Had *France* by that means been poſſeſſed of all the countries, which command the fiſhery, as *Great Britain* now is, which was her aim, ſhe would never have let the *Engliſh* enjoy even ſuch a ſhare of the fiſhery, as we have given to them. It is entirely by means of this fiſhery, which was firſt given to them by K. *Charles* I., that the *French* have been able to raiſe a naval force, and to contend with *Great Britain* at ſea, by means of her own reſources. They had no ſooner got poſſeſſion of this nurſery of ſeamen, than they raiſed a maritime power, which diſputed the command of the ſeas, and conſequently of *Great Britain* itſelf, againſt the combined fleets both of *England* and *Holland*; which has ever ſince made all thoſe, who conſult the ſafety or proſperity of *Great Britain*, pay

pay ſuch a regard to this fiſhery, that they juſtly think, the very being of this nation depends upon it. Thus the fiſhery of *Newfoundland* was not only the principal object of the laſt war, but is the grounds of all the diſputes with the *French* in *North America*. It was to ſecure that, which the *French* endeavoured to uſurp, that the nation engaged in the war; and how that is to be done without ſuch an expence after it, is the point in queſtion, and what this nation has to conſider.

Many may perhaps think, that this may be done by ſettlements in the country adjacent to the fiſhery; but we are of the contrary opinion, and are well ſatisfied, that ſuch ſettlements are more likely to prove a means of loſing the fiſhery, as lately happened by the taking of St. *John*'s in *Newfoundland*. That is the oldeſt ſettlement in all *North America*, but is not yet able to defend itſelf againſt two or three ſhips; and all the reſt of theſe paltry fiſhing ſettlements, North of *New-England*, are, and are ever likely to be, in the ſame defenceleſs condition. We ſhall never raiſe a force in theſe, or any other countries, ſufficient to defend them, where the people cannot ſubſiſt by their Agriculture, or rather have no ſoil or climate fit to cultivate. Yet, notwithſtanding it is ſo difficult to raiſe a force ſufficient to defend and ſecure theſe countries, there are more ports and harbours in them to be defended, than are perhaps in all *Europe*, excluſive of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*. The

whole coaſt, both of *Newfoundland* and *Nova Scotia*, is one continued harbour, and expoſed to every fiſhing veſſel; while there is but here and there a ſpot fit for ſettlers to inhabit, and thoſe at ſuch diſtances from one another, that they can neither ſupport, nor be ſupported by, each other. It is for theſe reaſons, that ſuch ſettlements can never be in a poſture of defence, although they are expoſed to every invader; who may hold the country, and command the fiſhery by that means, which they could not otherwiſe do. *Britain* muſt ſecure both theſe and all her other dominions by her fleets, which theſe ſettlements will rather weaken, by interfering with the *Britiſh* fiſhery; and muſt thereby deprive the whole nation of that ſecurity, which they are intended to give, if they do not again involve it in another war. All this, with many other diſadvantages of theſe fiſhing ſettlements, have been ſo fully ſhewn by a very good judge *, that it is ſurpriſing, they have never been attended to.

Thus

* *Child* on Trade, ch. 10. art. 10.——The chief arguments for his opinion are,

I. "The fiſhermen ſettled in *Newfoundland*, and much more in *Nova Scotia*, or other fiſhing ſettlements, are ſupplied with their own proviſions, or from the other colonies, and get great part of their cloathing, fiſhing-tackle, and other neceſſaries, either from them, or from the *French*; by which means the labour, as well as the cloathing and feeding of ſo many men, are loſt to *England*."

II. "Theſe

Thus the only advantage the nation can expect from the reduction of *Canada* and Cape *Breton*,

II. " Theſe ſettlements only ſerve to divert the fiſhermen from their laborious and induſtrious calling, which they neglect in diſorderly houſes on ſhore."

III. " Theſe fiſhing ſettlements greatly obſtruct the navigation of *Great-Britain*. If *Newfoundland*, ſays he, ſhould come to be ſettled, *England* would loſe that fiſhery, as ſhe had already done (even in his time, in the reign of King *Charles* II.) that on the coaſt of *New-England*; which was formerly carried on by *Britiſh* ſhips, but has now fallen ſolely to the employment of the people ſettled there." And if *Nova Scotia*, or the whole coaſt from *New-England* to the river St. *Laurence*, were ſettled, as is propoſed, the *Britiſh* fiſhery muſt be totally ruined, as the ſettlers could follow no other employment.

IV. " Before there were Boat-keepers or Planters at *Newfoundland*, fiſh was ſold 40 *per cent.* cheaper, and conſequently more vended; but now they have enhanced the price of their fiſh to ſuch an exceſs, as in effect proves the giving away of that trade to the *French*, who by this our impolitic management are able to underſell us; and moſt certain it is, that thoſe who can ſell cheapeſt will have the trade."

V. " It is the intereſt of *Great-Britain* not only to raiſe as many ſeamen as ſhe can, but to have them within call in time of danger; but in theſe fiſhing ſettlements, both their maintenance, and ſervice upon emergencies, are loſt to the nation."

VI. " The *Britiſh* fiſhing-ſhips are the only breeders of ſeamen, and enter many new hands; but the Planters are already bred, follow no other buſineſs, and never increaſe the number of ſeamen."

VII. " By the building, fitting, victualling, and repairing of *Britiſh* ſhips, numbers of Tradeſmen, Artificers, Owners of ſhips and ſeamen, in *England*, get their bread, which they loſe by the ſhip-building in theſe fiſhing ſettlements."

VIII. " If

Breton, is a ſecurity for the fiſhery; and if that were rightly improved, it might, no doubt, be rendered a very great national benefit; but by ſettling thoſe countries, it is to be feared, we ſhall deprive the nation of all the advantages which might otherwiſe be reaped from them. They are widely miſtaken about the very object in all theſe northern parts of *America*, who expect it from ſettlements, or agriculture. Had we got an excluſive right to the fiſhery, as was propoſed, we are told, by that great and true patriot, to whoſe conduct and fortitude the few advantages we have obtained are owing,

VIII. "If it is alledged, that without ſettlements, the country will always be expoſed to the ſurprize of the *French*, I anſwer, ſays he; "When we cannot preſerve our colonies by our ſhipping, or ſo awe our neighbours by our fleets, and ſhips of war, that they dare not attempt them, our caſe will be ſad, and our property will be loſt, or in imminent danger, not only abroad, but at home likewiſe."

IX. "All the fiſh that is killed at *Newfoundland*, in a ſummer, is not ſufficient to maintain ſtrength enough on ſhore to defend two fiſhing harbours againſt ten men of war; whereas that country has more harbours to defend, than are to be found in *Old-England*;" and there are ſtill more in *Nova Scotia*, the coaſt of which extends 3 or 400 leagues, with innumerable harbours on it, which can never be ſecured by the ſettlements in the country.

If a protection is wanted by a ſettlement in theſe countries, it ſhould be a place of ſtrength, ſuch as *Louiſburgh*; and even that might be taken, as well as *Quebec*, after all they will coſt. If that, and the other charges of theſe ſettlements, were laid out on the navy, and the keeping of a fleet there, they would be a much greater ſecurity to the whole nation, both at home and abroad.

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the nation would have got its own again, what is juſtly due to it, and what might have been ſome compenſation for the expences incurred; but by the ſettling of theſe countries we are only burdened with an additional charge; and *Britain* may be a loſer, and *France* a gainer, by depriving her of countries, which are rather a charge and detriment, than any benefit to the nation.

But it is not ſurpriſing, that many ſeem not to know what the advantages of the peace are, or the ways of improving them, when they ſeem to be totally unacquainted with the grounds and occaſion of the war. We are told every day, and it ſeems to be the general opinion in *England*, that the war was undertaken merely on account of the colonies; "a war undertaken "ſolely for *their* protection *;" "by which "*they* had profited ſo much; whoſe intereſts, "commerce and ſecurity had been the firſt "objects of *the peace* †," ſay they! But ſurely, they, who are of this opinion, are as little acquainted with the grounds and occaſion of the war, as with the proper methods of improving the advantages gained by it. The war was undertaken for *Nova Scotia*, and to ſecure the fiſhery of *Great Britain*, in which the colonies have no other concern, than to benefit their mother country, and to partake of thoſe ad-

* Conſiderations on the Trade of this kingdom, p. 69.
† Conduct of the Miniſtry, p. 12.

vantages,

vantages, ſafety and ſecurity, which they derive from her, and particularly from her maritime power, which is thus ſtrengthened and ſecured by the fiſhery. By theſe means the intereſt and benefits of the colonies and their mother country are a common cauſe, and joint concern, and they ſhew little regard for either, who would make them ſeparate. But of the two, *Britain* herſelf is, or at leaſt ought to be, much more concerned in the fiſhery, for which the war was undertaken, than the colonies. Except *New-England*, we have not a ſingle colony concerned in that fiſhery. The colonies ſhould cultivate their lands, as we have ſaid, and ſhould leave the fiſhery to the *Britiſh* ſeamen; on the other hand, as they are protected by the maritime power of *Britain*, it is their intereſt, as it is their duty, to ſecure this great ſource of ſafety to the whole nation. It was by theſe means, that the war, and the objects of it, were a common cauſe, and the colonies engaged in it as heartily as their mother country, by her deſire and frequent ſollicitations, which alone drew many of them into it. If the war was begun in *America*, it was becauſe that is the chief ſource of the maritime power of *Great Britain*; which is the envy of *France*, and the bone of contention between the two rival nations, as it has been, ever ſince we firſt gave them a right to fiſh at *Newfoundland*. The object therefore of the war was, whether ſhould *Great Britain*, or *France*, be maſters

of the ſeas, and conſequently of all *America*, if not of *Britain* itſelf, with the trade of the world. *Great Britain* herſelf was threatned with an invaſion, which was only prevented by her ſhips coming from the colonies, as we have ſaid; and we believe, there is no other way to prevent the like again. At that time this nation had neither a fleet that could be manned, an army, or militia; but was obliged to ſend for a few mercenaries to defend her; and only ſaved herſelf at home, and all her concerns abroad, by the powerful aid of the colonies, and the diverſion made in *Germany*, which firſt drew the *French* troops from their intended invaſion of *England*, or gave her any ſucceſs abroad.

Theſe ſucceſſes in the war were owing to the powerful aſſiſtance of the colonies, who firſt beat the *French* at Lake *George*, and put a ſtop to the progreſs of their victorious arms; they afterwards maintained from 20,000 to 25,000 men, without which we could not have expected any of the ſucceſſes we met with; and the nation might have been undone, not with her ſucceſſes, as we have been told, but for want of them. It is on this aid of the colonies, which is daily growing more powerful, that the ſafety of this nation depends; the people we have in *North America*, are the only balance to that great ſuperiority, in numbers, which our enemies have over us in *Europe*; and if this advantage were made a right uſe of, if the colonies and their mother country were united toge-

ther for their mutual ſupport, inſtead of being divided, as they have been, by theſe falſe meaſures taken for their "defence, protection, and ſecurity," ſuch an union would be a much better ſecurity to "his Majeſty's colonies and plantations in *America*," as well as to *Great Britain* herſelf, than all the taxes laid on the colonies for that purpoſe. That union, which ſo ſucceſsfully expelled our enemies from that continent, will ſecure it againſt them hereafter; if we make a right uſe of the great increaſe of the colonies, which will ſoon render them conſiderable. This power of *Great Britain*, united with her colonies, is the envy of her enemies, and excited the jealouſy of *France*, which was another occaſion of the war. He who was one of the principal authors of the war tells us, '*France* had taken the reſolution to humble 'the pride of *England*, and to bring her back 'to that point of mediocrity which nature had 'preſcribed to her *;' this they could only do by reducing her "powerful empire in *Ame-* "*rica*," and putting a ſtop to the progreſs of it; in which common cauſe the colonies thus aſſiſted their mother country, and will ever be able and willing to do the ſame again, by preſerving that union and harmony which ought by all means to be cemented between them, for their mutual ſafety and ſupport; but has been interrupted by theſe acts and regulations,

* *Silhouette's* View of *England*.

with

with many other misrepresentations, particularly of the causes and objects of the war, and state of the colonies.

If the nation, therefore, exerted itself at home, the colonies did the same abroad, and bore even a greater share of the burden, in proportion to their abilities, than *Great Britain* herself. If we consider their income and circumstances, such a number of men, and the sums they raised to pay them, are much more to them, than all the charges of the war are to *Britain*. And although this was no more than their duty to do, yet it was not certainly all done for *them*. The object of the war was the fishery, which would have been commanded by *Nova Scotia*, and which the colonies, by these means, helped to secure for *Great Britain*. If *New-England*, or any of the other colonies, were concerned in that fishery, they thus secured it for *Britain*, and not for themselves; *Nova Scotia* gives her a command of the fishery, and the advantages reaped from it; whereas it can only interfere with the colonies, and may deprive them of that, which in *New-England* is the chief, if not the only, means of their support. How then does it appear, "whatever may be the value of the acquisitions in *America*, the immediate benefit of them is to the colonies *?" or that "*they* profited so much by the war?" They tell us above, that all our acqui-

* Considerations *ibid.*

ſitions are not worth one groat to them. The only acquiſition is the fur trade, which is ſtill enjoyed by *Canada*; and the colonies only have their former ſhare, which is no object either to them, or to *Great Britain* *.

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* The furs are the only object in all theſe Northern parts of *America*, next to the fiſhery, and were formerly very conſiderable, for which alone both *Canada* and *Nova Scotia* were ſettled; but now they are in a manner exhauſted, and the *Indians* who got them extirpated; which renders colonies in theſe countries of little or no conſequence, as this their trade, and almoſt only ſupport, are daily declining more and more. "Formerly, when the King was at great expences in *Canada*," ſays *Charlevoix*, "the fur trade amounted to a million of livres (about 45,000 *l.* ſterling) a year, but now it is reduced to 300,000 livres." So in *Nova Scotia*, in the time of Mr. *Denys*, they uſed to get, among other articles, 3,000 elk-ſkins in a year, but now they obſerve, "the very ſpecies is extinct." Thus, by ſettling theſe countries, we deſtroy the furs, and loſe the only profit of them.

It has been imagined, that this fur trade is of great conſequence, and we ſee it, in ſome late accounts of *Canada*, valued at 200,000 *l.* a year; but by the Cuſtom-houſe accounts of the importation of furs, ſince the reduction of *Canada*, the whole fur trade of *North America*, South of *Hudſon*'s Bay, cannot be eſtimated, on an average, at above 40,000 *l. per annum.* This we may eaſily perceive from the number of *Indians* that get theſe furs, who are not above 6 or 7000 huntſmen; and cannot be ſuppoſed to make above five pounds a head *per annum*, as that is twice as much as our Planters make. Were they to be worth 200,000 *l.* a year, they would be the richeſt people in all *America*; whereas it is well known, they have not common neceſſaries.—We fear, the advantages of all our acquiſitions have been as much over-rated, in every thing elſe, as in this.

They

The only object for the *immediate benefit* of the colonies, or for the intereſt of *Great Britain* in them, are fruitful lands to cultivate, that will produce ſtaple commodities; of which they have not got one foot, ſince the peace. This was the other great and principal object of the war, and almoſt the only one that more immediately concerns the colonies, and the proſperity of the whole nation; but that ſeems never to have been underſtood, or to have been

They are much miſtaken, therefore, who imagine, that this fur trade was the object of the war, or that it can be any great advantage of the peace, or reſource to the colonies in conſequence of it. If the *French* ſurrounded our colonies with forts, which commanded this fur trade, that was not the great national concern of either; their view was, to ſecure all the Northern parts of the Continent, and to awe our colonies, which command the fiſhery.

Neither *Great Britain*, nor *France*, would have engaged in ſuch an expenſive war, as this was, for ſuch an inconſiderable object as the fur trade, or any thing elſe that theſe Northern parts of *America* produce, without the fiſhery; although both of them, and particularly the *French*, ſeem to have ſet a much greater value on the fur trade, than it is worth. Ever ſince they took *Hudſon*'s Bay in 1695, and got a monopoly of the furs, they have had a conſiderable manufacture in hats, and have aimed at a monopoly of it; why ſhould we not therefore do the ſame, when it now juſtly belongs to us? For this purpoſe, a duty of ſevenpence a ſkin has been laid upon the exportation of beaver, but that is far from being ſufficient to anſwer the end. That will not compenſate the dearneſs of labour, proviſions, articles of daily conſumption, &c. in *England*; but ſtill gives the *French* the advantage of making hats, with *Engliſh* furs, cheaper than we can ourſelves, and a very conſiderable branch of trade and manufactory.

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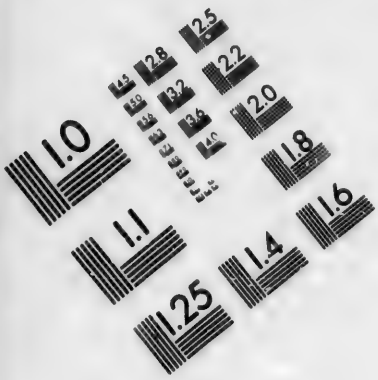

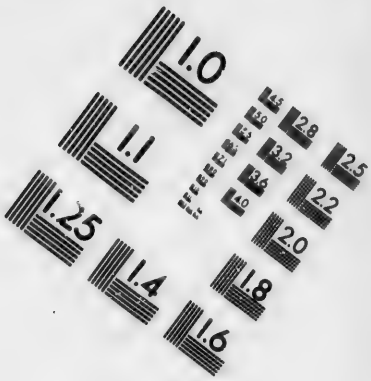

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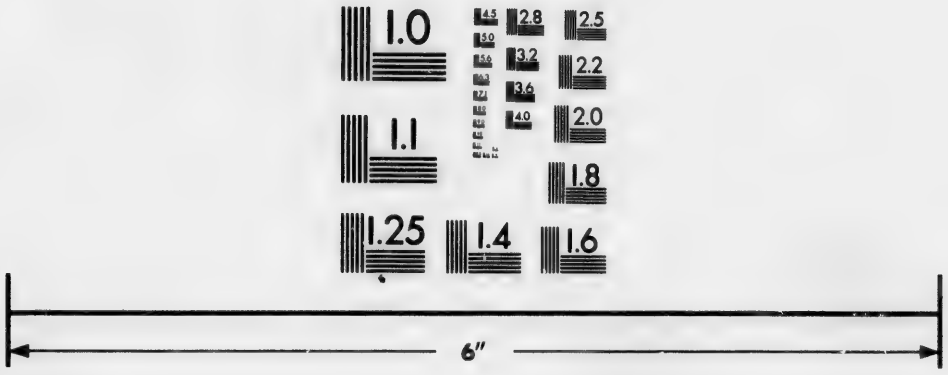

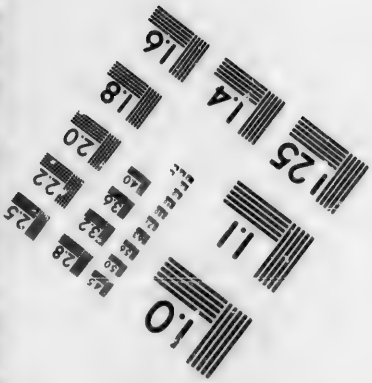

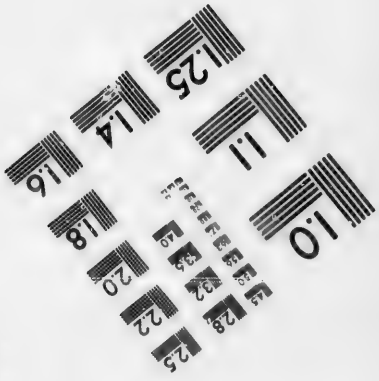

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regarded. There are no ſuch lands to be found in all the *Britiſh* dominions in *North America*, but on the *Ohio* and *Miſſiſippi*, from which the colonies are excluded by theſe regulations. Before the war they were ſettled on the river *Ohio*, *Wood* river, *Holſton* and *Cumberland* rivers, beyond the *Apalachean* mountains; but now they are confined within theſe mountains, by the proclamation iſſued for that purpoſe. Thus if they were at ſuch expences, or gained any advantages in the war, they have been deprived of them ſince the peace. This is the more to be regarded, as the colonies have no other way, either to be indemnified for their expences, to recruit their circumſtances, or even to pay their debts in *Britain*, but by cultivating ſuch lands. But if they were even poſſeſſed of them, they would not ſo ſoon raiſe *ſterling caſh*, to pay taxes, which theſe authors expect from the inſignificant reſources they would point out. The making of new ſettlements is a matter of expence, and not of immediate benefit or profit; and the colonies ſhould rather be relieved from taxes, and ſupported with credit, to enable them to be at that expence, than burdened with ſuch impoſitions to maintain *Canada* and *Florida*. They have formerly been in debt to *Britain*, by the ſettling of new plantations, which paid their debts; but now they are in debt for want of ſuch freſh lands, and have no way to pay even their juſt debts, or to purchaſe abſolute neceſſaries; and

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muſt be utterly unable to pay ſuch taxes, as theſe authors and many others would impoſe upon them, eſpecially from the reſources they mention. There could not have been a more improper time pitched upon, to impoſe theſe taxes and regulations on the colonies; when it is well known, they muſt either enlarge their plantations, and improve them in ſtaple commodities for *Britain*, or interfere with her both in Agriculture, trade and manufactures.

The only reſource of the colonies is in the improvement of their agriculture, which is a work of time; but as this is a matter of ſuch conſequence, it ought to be no longer neglected. It is only by their agriculture, that the colonies can make money to pay debts, taxes, or even to purchaſe neceſſaries; if we would therefore enable them to do either of theſe, proper regulations ſhould be thought of for this purpoſe; by which alone either *Great Britain*, or the colonies, can indemnify themſelves for their expences in the war, or recruit their circumſtances after it. They ſeem not to know what colonies are, who would think of any other reſources in them. But inſtead of theſe, nothing ſeems to be thought of but trade, which at the beſt is a very improper buſineſs for colonies, who ſhould only trade with their mother country; and for want of commodities to trade in, which they can only have from their agriculture, the *North American* colonies are very conſiderable loſers by their trade, as we have ſhewn

above. If they would gain any thing by their trade, they ſhould ſupply themſelves with their own neceſſaries from the produce of their lands, and ſhould make their imports, which they now conſume, articles of commerce; this is the firſt regulation wanted in the colonies, and might very eaſily be complied with. By that they might make, with their gains, and the ſaving of what they now expend, at leaſt half a million a year; and *Great Britain* might ſave nigh as much in *Canada* and *Florida*; which, with the return of ſo much from the colonies, are articles amounting to a million a year, and are highly worthy of conſideration, in the preſent circumſtances of this nation.

Next to theſe, the regulations moſt wanted in the colonies are ſuch as concern the improvements of their plantations in ſtaple commodities for *Britain*, which are equally intereſting to them, and to their mother country. Theſe are regulations which ſhould have been firſt thought of, if we would either expect to get money from them, to prevent their eſtabliſhing of manufactures, or to reap any other advantages from them. It ſhews the utmoſt want of thought and conſideration, to expect to get money from colonies, which produce nothing to gain it. Thus in all the regulations concerning the colonies, this chief and fundamental one ſeems not to have been regarded. If we would expect any thing from them, we ſhould firſt put them in a way of making it.

This

This is to be done by two ways, as we have ſaid, either by extending their ſettlements to new and freſh lands, and more favourable climates, or by improving their old plantations; the firſt of which depends upon *Great Britain*, and the laſt is more particularly the buſineſs of the colonies; although there is little hopes of ſeeing it done without the encouragement and aſſiſtance of their mother country. So long as the people in the colonies can get neceſſaries, which the land produces, they think of nothing elſe, and the public thereby loſes the benefit of their labor, which might likewiſe turn to much more account to them. Their buſineſs therefore is, to ſet about the improvement of their lands, by ſome public acts and encouragements; and to tax themſelves for this purpoſe, if they will not be taxed by others. A little laid out upon ſuch an occaſion would be the beſt harveſt they ever reaped. It would be like Seed Corn ſown in a ſoil which yields a thouſandfold. It is in this manner that the colonies ſhould be taxed, both for their own benefit, and the intereſt of the whole nation. Such taxes may be paid in the commodities propoſed, when they cannot poſſibly pay others, till they are enabled by the produce of their lands. This would likewiſe enable them to pay their debts, and to purchaſe their neceſſaries from *Britain*; whereas all other taxes deprive them of the means of both. They who would think of any other way of taxing the

colonies, do not know what they are, nor the intereſt of the nation in them.

This is the only way they have to indemnify themſelves for their expences in the war, to pay their debts, or to recruit their circumſtances; and there is no other way to recompenſe the nation, for the many millions that have been expended. This is therefore a debt, which they owe both to themſelves, and to their mother country; the diſcharging of which might retrieve their loſt credit, and be ample compenſation for their taxes. By ſuch ſtaple commodities to ſend to *Britain*, they would much more than compenſate the nation, for the taxes from which they have been relieved, or are unable to pay; and ſince they are free from the one, it would be a full ſatisfaction to all who know what colonies are, or ſhould be, and would appeaſe the clamors of many, to ſee ſuch improvements made in them, for the benefit of the whole nation. This would render their connection and dependence on *Great Britain* more laſting and ſecu , than the moſt abſolute government, and more advantageous to them, than a perfect liberty and freedom, or total independence; and would at the ſame time be more profitable to the whole nation, than any thing elſe that can poſſibly be done in colonies. Such a deſign is the more neceſſary, as it muſt appear to all, who are in the leaſt acquainted with the ſtate of the colonies, that they muſt now either improve their lands in ſtaple commodities for

Britain,

Britain, or interfere with her both in Agriculture, Trade, and Manufactures, the eſſential employments and fundamental reſources of the nation.

For this purpoſe ſome encouragement has been given to the growing of Hemp and Flax, and the getting of timber; but theſe are never likely to be a laſting ſtaple of any of our colonies, and are at the beſt but very inſignificant reſources for ſupporting ſo many countries, and maintaining ſuch a number of people. Since theſe therefore have failed, and are ſo inſufficient to anſwer the purpoſe, ſome other methods ſhould be thought of, to promote ſuch a ſignal intereſt of the nation; of which any one or two that can be propoſed would not be ſufficient, as we have ſaid; and to find any number of ſtaple commodities ſuitable to their ſingular and peculiar ſoil and climate, and fit to maintain ſuch a number of people, is not ſo eaſily done, as may perhaps be imagined. But this is a ſubject which would require a more particular explanation, if we conſider the ſingularities of the climate of *North America*, and the condition of Planters; and if ſuch a deſign is likely to be encouraged, we may perhaps proſecute it in another part of this diſcourſe; although there are no hopes of ſeeing it carried into execution, without the united endeavours of the whole nation, both at home and abroad.

In the mean time, it may be eaſy to ſatisfy every unprejudiced perſon concerning the ſtate

of the colonies, ſo far as relates to the repeal of the late Regulations and Stamp-act. Many would repreſent this as a very great loſs to *Great Britain*; the contrary of which muſt appear to all, who will conſider not only the condition and circumſtances, but the very nature and inſtitution of colonies. It is not in the nature of things, that they, who make ſo little, and muſt buy every thing, ſhould ever have money. They muſt not only ſupply themſelves with their own manufactures, but muſt even vend them, before they can ever be worth money, as they have nothing elſe that will ever be a ſource of wealth. But how prejudicial ſuch a ſtate and trade of the colonies would be to *Great Britain*, muſt certainly appear to all. That is the direct way not only to deprive the nation of the benefit of them, but to make it impoſſible for them to live under a *Britiſh* government, without a total relaxation and infringement of the moſt eſſential and fundamental laws relating to them. Were they to be forced to raiſe money by the produce of their labour, or manufactures, as they muſt do, ſo long as their lands produce ſo little, their trade could never be confined to *Great Britain*. They might live under a *Britiſh* government, it is true, but they could never ſubſiſt by a dependence on *Great Britain* for their neceſſaries; which are the chief and firſt thing to be conſidered in the governing of any people whatever,

ever, and eſpecially thoſe who are at ſuch a diſtance. Abſolute neceſſaries are above all other conſiderations, and to deprive people of theſe, is to unhinge the firſt ſprings, and the very deſign, of government, which is intended for the preſervation and better ſubſiſtence of the people. The firſt thing, therefore, to be conſidered, in the governing of the colonies, is, to enable them to ſubſiſt under the government they are ſubject to; which they will never be able to do by paying taxes, ſo long as their reſources are ſo few, and ſo limited and confined. Their trade and reſources are now, as they ought to be, confined to *Great Britain*, which does not want, and will not take, what the greateſt part of *North America* produces; ſo that, to oblige them to raiſe money, even by the produce of their lands, is to force them into a trade with foreign Powers.

Thus the repeal of the taxes impoſed upon the colonies is ſo far from being a ſacrifice of the higheſt permanent intereſts, and of the whole majeſty, power, and reputation of government, as many ſeem to think, that it appears to be the only way to ſecure them *. The whole income

* The dignity and power of Government was ſecured by the wiſe and juſt law enacted, "to bind the colonies ſubjects of *Great Britain*, in all caſes whatſoever," as they ought to be; but that cannot extend to *impoſſible caſes*, ſuch as the taking of money from them, when it is impoſſible they ſhould have any. Neither can we ſuppoſe, that the wiſdom of the legiſlature will extend it to caſes, which are

income of theſe colonies does not amount to above ten or twelve ſhillings a head *per annum*, which

are ſo contrary to the intereſt of the nation. But at the ſame time it was very proper, that the colonies ſhould be bound *ſubjects* of *Great Britain*, in all caſes whatſoever.

That it is impoſſible for theſe colonies ever to have money, appears from many conſiderations. Firſt, the balance of trade upon their exports and imports into *Britain* is about a million a year; beſides which, they annually purchaſe from *Britain* to the value of about 150,000 *l.* in negroes, which takes all the money they have, or can get, to keep up their plantations of ſtaple commodities for *Britain*, on which her whole intereſt in the colonies depends: This makes the balance of trade againſt them, at leaſt, 1,100,000 *l. per annum*; and yet that, if they were able to pay it, is not ſufficient to purchaſe a ſixth part of the neceſſaries they want from *Britain*.

Secondly, they have no way to get money but by a trade to the *Weſt-Indies*, where they are refuſed both money, or any valuable effects that will purchaſe it.

Thirdly, their reſources for getting money conſiſt in the vent of their products, for which they want markets. Their trade is confined to a few ſmall iſlands, which are not ſufficient to take off a tenth part of the products of that Continent. If we would have given them any reſources to make money, as is pretended, it ſhould have been by an enlargement of our poſſeſſions in the *Weſt-Indies*: But inſtead of that, their trade there was reſtrained, if not ruined, by theſe Regulations. Among others, the *Spaniards* came to deal with them at *Penſacola*, with a cargo amounting to 600,000 dollars, as was ſaid, but we were hindered to take their money; which occaſioned the firſt failure of the *North American* merchants in their remittances. Thus we would take money from them, when they have none, and at the ſame time hinder them to get it.

If theſe things are conſidered, it would not even be for the intereſt of the people of *Great Britain*, to have a right to tax the colonies. They might clamour, and even petition,

which will never pay taxes, nor even purchaſe *abſolute neceſſaries*. By taxes, therefore, you firſt oblige the people to ſupply themſelves, independent of *Great Britain*, and then to carry on a trade with other nations, in order to raiſe money, both of which are equally oppoſite to the *higheſt permanent intereſts* and *government* of *Great Britain*. And this is not only the caſe at preſent, but is likely to be much more ſo hereafter. The daily and great increaſe of the people in *North America* muſt render this their income, and abilities either to purchaſe neceſſaries, or to pay taxes, ſtill leſs than at preſent, unleſs they have both manufactures and a trade in them. They will ſoon want all the produce of their lands for their own uſe, after which it will be very difficult for them even to carry on a trade with *Great Britain*; and abſolutely impracticable to raiſe money by

petition, for ſuch a popular meaſure, unwittingly to their own ruin. This is the great inconvenienc[illegible] governments, unleſs they are ſubject to ſon[illegible] which is what we have above called too great [illegible] mankind to be entruſted with, and in the [illegible] appears to be contrary to their intereſt to enjoy. [illegible] could be more prejudicial to the intereſt of *Great Britain*, than to take money from theſe colonies, on any account whatever, and above all, for ſuch purpoſes as the maintaining of *Canada* and *Florida*.

If it were poſſible to tax the colonies for the benefit of the nation, it ſhould be in ſuch ſtaple commodities as are wanted from them; although even that would require great prudence and conſideration, if it were to be extended to them all, as will appear from conſidering that ſubject.

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it, to pay taxes. Even if they were to make all the improvements in ſtaple commodities that could well be propoſed or thought of, they would never pay taxes. Before they can make theſe, the people will be twice as numerous as they are, and their income, if it were ten times as great as it is at preſent, would hardly be ſufficient to purchaſe their neceſſaries from *Britain*.

Thus it ſignifies nothing, whether *Great Britain* has a right to tax her colonies, or not, ſince that right can never be worth a groat; and it would be the greateſt loſs and detriment to the nation, ever to exerciſe it. This muſt ever be the caſe, ſo long as theſe colonies depend on their mother country, without either ſtaple commodities, manufactures, or trade, that turn to any account to them; and the whole profits of theſe eſſential reſources, both of wealth and ſubſiſtence, center in, and are reaped by *Great Britain*. If theſe things are conſidered, it muſt appear to be the greateſt inconſiſtency, either to expect, or to take, money from theſe colonies. That is contrary to the very nature of *colonies*, and to the intent of ſettling them. The nation gets both their money, if they have any, and their effects, by trade, and can expect none by a revenue. Upon theſe accounts, it was abſolutely neceſſary to repeal the taxes impoſed upon them, as it was equally contrary to the very nature of things, and the intereſt of *Great Britain*, that they ſhould ever be able to pay

pay them, till they enjoy all the profits of their own labour, and of a trade in the produce of it; which is to make them independent. Many other regulations are as contrary to nature itſelf, particularly in the acquiſitions, and muſt be repealed, when they come to be known, as the reſt have been. *Opinionum commenta delet dies, naturæ judicia confirmat.*

Many indeed ſeem to be apprehenſive, that the repeal of the Stamp-act may make the colonies leſs ſubject to a *Britiſh* government, and more inclinable to aſſert an independence; in which they ſhew themſelves to be totally unacquainted with them in this reſpect, as well as in all the other important concerns of the nation. The inhabitants of the colonies, like all other *Engliſhmen*, have ever had a firm attachment to their mother country, and her government, on account of the invaluable bleſſings they enjoy, from her happy conſtitution and form of government; this has hitherto ſecured to them thoſe liberties and privileges, which they derive from her, and are as tenacious of, as all other *Engliſhmen:* This is the great band of union between the colonies and their mother country, which we ſhould diſſolve, by depriving them of the liberties and privileges of their fellow-ſubjects, which they have hitherto enjoyed, and think they are entitled to by their birth-right, in common with all other ſubjects of the realm. To deprive them of this conſtitution, is the ſureſt way to make them think of another; but ſo long as they enjoy all the

benefits of ſuch a government, they never can have a better. This is ſo well known to all intelligent people in the colonies, that although many here imagine, they want to be independent, and to ſet up for themſelves, yet we believe, no one among them ever once thought of any ſuch thing, unleſs the people here put it in their heads. So long as they enjoy their preſent happy conſtitution, they would not be independent, if it were in their power, or left to their option. They know very well, if they were to throw off the mild and auſpicious government of *Great Britain*, they muſt be ſubject to tyrants of their own, and expoſed to invaſions from their enemies. It is therefore only an officious meddling, by people who ſeem not to know what colonies are, that creates any diſturbances between them and their mother country. Such people, by tampering with their government, in order to ſecure it, take the direct ways to overſet it. All the other regulations made concerning them have as direct a tendency to obſtruct the very deſigns, which they intended to promote. Their buſineſs, and the difficulties in it, are, to pay their debts, and to purchaſe their neceſſaries; and all regulations ſhould be made ſubſervient to theſe purpoſes. Let them alone, to tranſact theſe in the beſt manner they can, unleſs you would enable them to do it in a better manner, which is the chief buſineſs of the nation, and you would hear of no diſturbances in them. Their liberties, ſafety and ſecurity, are a certain

pledge for their allegiance and dependence which is above all others. This is a band of union between them and their mother country, founded on the nature and reaſon of things, and the rights of mankind, which are as laſting as the world itſelf, if we do not counteract them.

Beſides this, there is as great a tye of union from their intereſts, which are mutual and naturally connected together. The colonies which produce ſtaple commodities for *Britain*, could not find ſuch another market for them; and even thoſe which produce nothing of that kind, have the liberty of vending their products in other parts of the world, and the advantage of a trade with *Great Britain* at the ſame time. To cement their union, therefore, and to make it laſting, nothing is wanted but to ſecure their property by ſuch a trade, both in public and private tranſactions, under the happy conſtitution they enjoy. And as this hath been done, by the repeal of the Stamp-act, the colonies thereby have their liberties and privileges confirmed to them, their conſtitution eſtabliſhed, and their property thoroughly ſecured; and *Great Britain* has theſe certain pledges for their allegiance and dependence; which, it is to be hoped, will remove all jealouſies and ſuſpicions, or grounds of complaint on either ſide, and confirm that union and good underſtanding between both, which are ſo neceſſary for their mutual intereſt and welfare, and which it was our deſign to point out the ways of eſtabliſhing.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

Page 172, line 35, thus *read* this.
Page 191, line 15, Sanciri *read* Lanciſi.
Page 272, line 15, head *read* hogſhead.
Page 284, line 3, ate *read* late.
Page 300, line 1, which *read* which reſources.
Page 337, line 19, they *read* the ſettlements.